

# A christian Bahira legend

Introduction

English translation  
of the  
Syriac and Arabic texts



with also the syriac and arabic texts  
by

Richard Gottheil

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## A Christian Bahira legend.

By *Richard Gottheil.*

The texts which I here publish are a curious evidence of how historical tradition may be perverted for polemical purposes. The story of the Christian Monk B<sup>h</sup>īrā<sup>1</sup>) and his meeting with Mohammed is made the basis for a series of apocalyptic visions and of prophecies designed to show that there was nothing at all original in the teachings of the prophet,<sup>2</sup>) that he was an arch-fraud, and that he was instigated to practice this fraud by his mentor, who wished — in this manner — to bring the ignorant Arabs to the knowledge of one God. It is a form of polemics not unusual in the Middle Age literature. The apocryphal life of Jesus (*Tōl'dhōth ʿġeshūa*) served a somewhat similar purpose to the Jews. The Arabic traditions in regard to B<sup>h</sup>īrā have been carefully gathered, especially by NÖLDEKE

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1) SPRENGER (*Das Leben Mohammeds* II, 381) says the name is "Nabataean" (he means "Aramaean"), and then proceeds to connect it with the Arabic *Bahīrah* "a she-camel exempted from being ridden" (LANE), which he then supposes to be equivalent to "an ascetic"! But NÖLDEKE has shown (ZDMG XII, 704) that it is nothing more than the Aramaic part. pass. *B<sup>h</sup>īrā i. e.* "elect". Mas'ūdi punctuates *Buḥairā i. e.* the Arabic diminutive form. The correct explanation of the name (*ὁ ἐκλεκτός*) is given in the notes to the *Fihrist*, II, 12; cfr. also NICOLL, *Catalogi Cod. Manusc.* *Bibl. Bodl.* II, 507, col. I.

2) Buchārī, *e. g.*, speaks of a Christian who said: "Mohammed knows nothing more than that which I have written for him". Cited by SPRENGER, *loc. cit.*

and SPRENGER.<sup>1)</sup> It would be outside my purpose to enter into a discussion of them in this place.

The whole story is evidently made up of three different parts; which, in the Syriac, hang together somewhat loosely; but, in the Arabic, have been woven into a more consistent whole. The first — and oldest — part is a simple account of the meeting of Ishō'yabh, the assumed author, with B'ḥirā. In it B'ḥirā relates to Ishō'yabh the reason of his settling in Arabia, his vision on Mount Sinai, his visit to the Emperor Maurice and King Chosroes. B'ḥirā continues to be persecuted because of his views in regard to the worship of one cross;<sup>2)</sup> is driven out of Bēth Ārmāyē, and settles for good amongst the Ishmaelites, to whom he proclaims a reign of ten weeks. After seven days B'ḥirā dies.<sup>3)</sup>

1) SPRENGER, *ibid.* II, 367. 380; ZDMG VIII, 557; IX, 799; XII, 238. 699. Mas'ūdī's *Meadows of Gold*, tr. SPRENGER, 149.

2) It is evident from the persistence with which he returns to this idea that it contained a question which profoundly agitated the Church of his time and his country.

3) The legend, as we have it here, substantially agrees with the Arabic authorities. It would be an interesting study to follow its path through the Byzantine chronographers and the popular *chansons* into modern literature. I cite, merely as an instance, George Phrantzes (ed. B. G. NIEBUHR, Bonn 1838) p. 295: ἦν δέ τις ψευδαββᾶς ὀνόματι Σέργιος, διὰ κακοπιστίαν ἐκ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐξόριστος, καὶ φίλος ὦν τῷ Μωάμεθ· ὃν ὁ Μωάμεθ ἐπαρεκάλει τῇ αὐτοῦ κυρίᾳ τῇ καὶ γυναικὶ ταῦτα λέγειν καὶ βεβαιῶναι, καὶ παραινεῖν ἵνα μὴ λοπῇται ἀλλ' ἵνα χαίρῃ. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἐπίστευε τῷ ψευδαββᾷ πλεῖον ἢ τῷ ἀνδρὶ. διὰ τοῦτο λέγουσι καὶ οἱ πάντες ὅτι ὁ Μωάμεθ ὥρισε τοὺς μοναχοὺς πάντας ἀτελεῖς εἶναι καὶ ἀφορολόγητους διὰ τὴν τοῦ ψευδαββᾶ Σεργίου φιλίαν, καὶ οὕτως παρήγγειλεν. Theophanes (ed. DE BOOR 1883) p. 334: αὕτη δὲ ἔχουσα μοναχόν τινα διὰ κακοπιστίαν ἐξόριστον ἐκείως οὐκοῦντα, φίλον αὐτῆς, ἀνήγγειλεν αὐτῷ πάντα καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀγγέλου . . . αὕτη δὲ πρώτη δεξαμένη τὸν λόγον τοῦ ψευδοαββᾶ ἐπίστευσεν αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ. Some of the Mss have, after ψευδαββα: ὀνόματι Σέργιος. The *Roman de Mahomet* (13<sup>th</sup> century) speaks of Bahira

“En cel tans, en cele partie,  
Estoit uns hom de sainte vie,

The second part contains an account of how B'hīrā first met Mahommed (which is in substantial agreement with the Mohammedan authorities); and a set of questions and answers which passed between the two — which set, in one Syriac Ms, has even a separate heading.

The third part contains a series of apocalyptic prophecies in regard to the future of the Mohammedan world down to the second appearance of the Messiah.

In the third part — which in most of its ideas, is a simple repetition of the vision in the first part — the mystical element seems to come more to the front. But the prominence given to the Mahdi-idea, even in the vision, seems to point to certain Shī'itic influences. For the Shī'ites, with their Persian tendency to mysticism, had a liking for apocalypses and for predictions, of just the same kind as we find in our texts here.<sup>1</sup>) Is it going too far to at least

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Demourans en-j-hermitage  
En une montaigne sauvage,  
Vil proioit Nostre Signour  
Pour tout le poule, cascun jour."

Cfr. the edition of REINAUD and MICHEL (Paris 1831), p. 6. — *Le Miroir Hystorial*, Book IV, Chap. LI: "Si comme Serge avoit grieformment peche en son monstier, et il fust excommunie & boute hore pour ce peche il vint en la region darabe et de inde iusque a Mecques, & la descendit ou il avoit deux peuples lung q'avoit les ydoles & lautre qui estoit iuif, & trouua la Mahōmet qui adorait les ydoles sident faire aucune chose q̄ pleust aux moynes q̄ lavoient vuie hors et quil desserinst a estre reconcilie, car ilz estoient hereses nescoriens. Et disoit q̄ Marie navoit pas enfante dieu, mais hōme tant seulement si ladmonesta a tout son pouvoir et a toute son estude quil delaissast les ydoles & devenist chretien vescorien, & il le fist et fut Mahomet son disciple & pour ce se nomma il vescorien, et luy ainsi fut fait q̄ il apprint de ce moyne aucunee chose du vieil e du nouveau testament, et ces choses il mist par fable & par mensonge en son alcoran . . ."

1) I am thinking here of the books on *Malāhim* (sing. *Mālhamah*) "certains ouvrages dans lesquels on a rassemblé des prédictions touchant les révolutions des empires et autres graves événements" Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbers*, tr. DE SLANE II, 516. They dealt especially with the Kur'ān and the hidden meaning of many of its passages. Cfr. also *Prolegomènes*,



suppose that the Bahira apocalypse was written by some one among the many Syriac-speaking communities in or near Persia. The Turks are mentioned in the third part. The Seljuks founded their first real kingdom under Toghrul Beg (died 1063). They had already captured the greater part of the Fatimide Empire. They, however, are not mentioned by name in the vision. On account of the disasters which overtook the Mohammedan Empire, by reason of the supremacy of the Turkish soldiers as early as the time of al-Mu'tasim (833—842) — we might be led to see them represented in the vision by the lamb in wolf's clothing. In the third part (Ms A; Syriac) their colour is red; and the shield and flag of the present Turkish Empire is of that colour. I do not know how far back the use of this colour can be followed. But why should they be called the "sons of Sufyān" or "sons of Sarpin"? The *Terminus ad quem* in the vision is undoubtedly the "Kingdom" or "King" of the Romans. I have thought here of the Crusaders. If I am right, the redaction of the first part, the apocalyptic vision, might well fall at the end of the eleventh, or the beginning of the twelfth centuries. The second part — the real Bahira legend — may be a good deal older; while the third part need not have been composed at a very much later date. I see that the author (authors?) of the Catalogue of the Arabic Mss in the Bibliothèque Nationale say also "*Légende composée vers le XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*".<sup>1)</sup>

Who, then, are represented by the white animal, the black animal, and the bull? The number 24 occurs several times, with a certain amount of persistence;<sup>2)</sup> only once,

tr. DE SLANE, II, 191. 205 seq.; DE SACY, *Chrestomathie arabe* II, 298; AMARI, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, II, 54. See, further, the authorities mentioned in DOZY, *Supplement*, II, 522; and WELLHAUSEN, *Skizzen*, IV, 127.

1) Vol. I, p. 70.

2) As also in the Daniel Apocalypse; see below.

in the third part of Syriac B, is the number 25. But, it is made up in various ways. In the first part of the Syriac Mss, it is distinctly said that both the white and the black animals have 12 horns; and this is repeated several times. The Banu Hāshem are, in this connection, the Abbaside rulers of Bagdad. This would include the time from Abu Abbās (750) to al-Mustaʿin (862—866). The bull represents, as is said, Mahdi bar Fātimah. One, at once, thinks of the Fatimide dynasty of Egypt. The vision speaks of eight kings; and there were just eight kings (from Ubeidallah, 909, to al-Mustanşir, 1094) in this dynasty. This, however, leaves a gap between the last Abbaside and the first Fatimide mentioned in the vision!

The Arabic vision counts differently: the white lion has 12 horns, the black wolf 3, and the bull 5. This makes 20; and if to this we add the panther, goat, lion, and man, we have the number 24. But in the third part, the Arabic mentions 7 kings of the Banu Hāshem:  $12 + 7 + 5 = 24$ . I can only guess at the solution of the "5" puzzle. The Ikhshide dynasty (founded by Mohammed al Ikhshid) was made up of five kings (935—969). So also was the dynasty of the Rassid Imāms of the Zaidite sect of Shiites (founded by Sa'da in Yemen at the time of the Chaliph Ma'mūn). This last seems somewhat outside of the range of view of our authors; though the Banu Yoḡṡān (in the form of a goat) seem to represent the people of Southern Arabia. The latest addition to Ms B speaks of 36 kings. I do not know in what manner the tale is made.

In regard to the first twelve, I think we can see in them the first twelve of the Umayyid Caliphs — the four so-called "orthodox" caliphs being omitted as not being of the family of Mohammed. The twelfth would be Yazid III — 744 A.D. — a "reign of terror" it was called in Abbaside surroundings.<sup>1)</sup> Towards the end, the statement

1) *The Apology of al-Kindi*, tr. W. MUIR, pp. 26. 75.

is made that in the year 1055 (the Arabic has 1050) of the Seleucid Era, the Arabs would rise and slay their king. It is expressly said that with this year the reign of the Ishmaelites will come to an end. Our author is, perhaps, thinking of Walid II, who was murdered by conspirators in his palace. Ibrahim reigned only for three months, when he was deposed by Marwān II. This latter was, however, not acknowledged by the Abbasides; and might, therefore, well be omitted in the count.

The preceding suggestions are, in a measure, born out by the mention of the different colours in conjunction with the different kingdoms.<sup>1)</sup> The first animal in the vision is called the white beast (in the Arabic "the white lion"); and in the second part mention is made of the "white kingdom of the sons of Ishmael". White, we know, was the colour chosen by the Umayyids. The second animal is a black one (in the Arabic "a black she-wolf"). In the second part, the "black kingdom of the sons of Hāshem" is mentioned. Black was the colour of the Abbasides. The third animal — the bull — has no colour. The panther, which, in the Arabic, takes the place of the lamb clothed in the skin of a wolf, is said to be clothed in blood; in the second part this is paraphrased by "the red kingdom of the sons of Sufyān". Red was the colour of the Chārijite rebels; also, according to WEIL, of the rebel al-Sufyānī who rose up at the time of Ma'mūn.<sup>2)</sup> I am unable to say whether either of these two is intended here. In the Syriac text of the first part the Mahdi ibn Aīshah is followed by a man "clothed in yellow",

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1) On the whole subject of the different colours as typical of certain dynasties see WEIL, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, II, 216; MÜLLER, *Islam* I, 454 and especially the material collected by GOLDZIEHER, *Muhammedanische Studien* I, 149/50. As the writer was probably an ecclesiastic, he had also in mind the four colours, red black white and bay, mentioned in Zachariah VI, 2 seq.

2) Al-Athīr, VI, 172; Tabari, III, 3, p. 83.

who is said to be the last of the kings of Hagar. Were it not for this addition, one would be tempted to think of the Franks, for whom this denomination has become standard in Arabic history:<sup>1)</sup> the king of the Romans then representing the Crusaders.<sup>2)</sup> But that seems out of the question here, especially as in the Arabic the colour is green, not yellow. Now, we know that, at first, yellow was the distinctive colour of the Alides, but that this was soon changed to green. In the Arabic version of the last part, the "yellow ones" do really come from the west and are followed by the Mahdi ibn Aīshah, and then by the green one who destroys the Roman power. But, as we do not know for certain the country in which our "Bahira Apocalypse" was written, the points of the compass mentioned carry us no further.

Nor can I say for certain who the "goat" is meant to represent. He stands for the "children of Yoḡtān" — a name taken from the Bible, and either in this form or more arabicized as Ḳaḡtān, believed to be the mythical progenitor of the 'Arabes Indigeni', the Arabs living on both sides of the Persian Gulf.<sup>3)</sup> In one or two places, a synonym for them is Ḳaṭarāyē or Ḳaṭrānāyē, the inhabitants of Ḳaṭar, between al-Baḡrein and Omān.<sup>4)</sup> That would, at least, point in a similar direction. But all these

1) See the authorities cited in Dozy, *Supplément*, s. v. اصفر.

2) They are so called in the Apocalypse of Daniel. It is curious to see that they are here said to be clad in "red garments", which the late JAMES DARMESTETER thinks is derived from the red cross on which was the sign of the Crusaders. FRÉDÉRIC MACLER, *Les Apocalypses Apocryphes de Daniel*, Paris 1895, pp. 25/6. For red as suggestive of Christian powers see MILLS, *Pahlavi Texts*, I, p. LI; ROSIN, *Reime und Gedichte des Abraham ibn Ezra*, p. 159.

3) See, e. g., *Hamsae Ispahensis Annali*, ed. GOTTWALD, 122; Al-Athir, I, 57; *Yāḡūt*, III, 635. Theophanos, I, 333 has 'Ιεττάν.

4) Cfr. Al-Bekri, 741. According to B.O. III, 133 the district had its own bishop. See also BUDGE, *Thomas of Margā*, II, 153.

historical notices seem tinged with Mahdi ideas.<sup>1)</sup> The two divisions into twelve kings — though originating in the Bible<sup>2)</sup> — may possibly stand in connection with the series of twelve Imāms of the Imāmī sect. In the Syriac text we have the mention of the “kingdom of Hāshem son of Mohammed” — which, in this form, seems to point to Abu Hāshem, son of Mohammed el-Hanafīyyah, son of Ali.<sup>3)</sup> The number twelve was considered to be of such importance that one sect was named *al-Ithnāshariyyah* (the twelvers).<sup>4)</sup> In both the Syriac and the Arabic we find the expression “from the first Mohammed to the second Mohammed”, which may be taken to refer to the first Imām, Mohammed ibn al-Hanafīyyah and the last, Mohammed ibn Hasan; just as the ten weeks (= 70 years) is the period during which the Mahdi was supposed to remain in hiding.<sup>5)</sup>

The form of the vision and of the apocalypse is, of course, based upon Zachariah, Daniel, and Revelations: and FRÉD. MACLER has pointed out how persistent this form

1) On the Mahdi see the work of DARMESTETER cited in the notes: and especially for the various traditions Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbers*, tr. DE SLANE, II, 496; *Prolegomènes*, III, 40. 128; AMARI, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, II, 117 seq.; GOLDZIEHER in *Revue des Etudes juives*, XXX, 5. GRIMME, *Mohammed*, II, 169.

2) Genesis XVII, 20; XXV, 13. Cfr. BROCKELMANN's ed. of ibn Jauzi, *BA*, III, 46, 10. DE FAYE, *Les Apocalypses juives*, Paris 1892, p. 87.

3) The *بنو هاشم*, or *Hāshimītes*, were a subdivision of the *Keisānuyyah*; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbers*, II, 500.

4) Shahrastānī, tr. HAARBRÜCKER, I, 165. 169. Ibn Khaldūn, II, 501. WÜSTENFELD, *Geschichte der Fatimiden-Caliphen*, 1881, 14. The list of the twelve is given in Shahrastānī p. 192, and in STANLEY LANE-POOLE, *Mohammedan Dynasties*, 72. Or, we may think of the following tradition of Mohammed, “Le monde ne s'en ira pas jusqu'à ce qu'un homme de ma famille règne sur les Arabes: son nom sera le même que le mien”; Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolegomènes*, tr. DE SLANE, II, 162.

5) DARMESTETER, *The Mahdi*, p. 31. Another reckoning of 70 = 700 years is given by Sa'id ibn Hassan; see GOLDZIEHER, *REJ*, XXX, 11.

of symbolising events has been, even down to our own times.<sup>1)</sup> Of the Apocalypses to which this Bahira one bears a certain resemblance, I would mention the Ezra Apocalypse "von dem Ende der Zeiten der Ishmaeliten",<sup>2)</sup> and the Apocalypse of Daniel, to which attention was first called by S. MUNK.<sup>3)</sup>

In the oldest Arabic accounts of Mohammed's interview with his teacher, the latter is not mentioned by name. He is simply called *Rahib*<sup>4)</sup> (= monk, anchorite). At a later time he is called *Nestor*, which may mean nothing more than that the monk was a Nestorian,<sup>5)</sup> and *Bahīrā*.<sup>6)</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī is the first one to identify him with *Sergius*; — or, rather, the Christians who lived at his time (332 A.H.).<sup>7)</sup>

1) Cfr. his *Thèse*, already cited pp. 16/17.

2) First published by BAETHGEN, ZAW, VI, 199 seq. An English translation by J. HALL — but from a different Ms — was published in the *Presbyterian Quarterly* 1886. See the note in the *Independent* (N. Y.) Jan. 13<sup>th</sup> 1887. A second edition, from a third Ms, was edited, with a French translation, by J. B. CHABOT in the *Revue sémitique*, 1887, 60 seq.

3) The Persian text was then edited and translated by ZOTENBERG in MEXX's *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testaments*, 1869, 385 seq. The whole subject has been fully treated in MACLER, *loc. cit.*, part of whose *Thèse* appeared in the *Revue d'histoire des Religions*, XXXIII, 62 seq. It is interesting to note that here also we have distinct mention of twenty-four kings of the Ishmaelites. Here also Isaiah, X, 5 is applied to the Ishmaelites.

4) On this word cfr. GOLDZIEHER, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, 395.

5) According to Al-Kindi's account Sergius instructed Mohammed in the faith of Nestorius. See MUIR's ed. of the text, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. p. 70. This same statement is found in the Byzantine historians.

6) Wākidi (SPRENGER, *Leben Mohammeds*, II, 380). Suleimān Taimi (died A.D. 763) in his biography of the Prophet, mentions the name Bahīrā. SPRENGER, *ibid.* 386.

7) Or, even earlier; if, as MUIR supposes, al-Kindi lived at the time of al-Ma'mūn. He mentions Sergius, and his whole account is very similar to one contained in the following pages. Curiously enough, he seems to think (p. 105 of the translation) that Bahīrā and Sergius are different persons. So does HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Literaturgeschichte der Araber*, I, 395, who speaks of "Christian monks Sergius, Bahira, Nestor and Ebū 'Aāmir"; cfr. also SPRENGER, *Mohammed*, II, 79.

It is the name given to him by later Greek and Latin writers, as George Phrantzes (p. 294) and Procopius, *De Bello Persico* (II, 24). It is hard to tell to what Sergius reference is made.<sup>1)</sup> The name was not an unusual one. Thomas of Marga has a chapter on a Rabbān Sargis of Beth Garmai,<sup>2)</sup> the author of the "Destroyer of the Mighty", who had a Ishō'yabh for disciple. It is not unlikely that he is the one mentioned in our Apocalypse, though I can not find in his life the other data here referred to. I have identified Ishō'yabh with Ishō'yabh of G'dhālā,<sup>3)</sup> because of his connection with the restoration of the Holy Cross which had been carried off by the Persians in 614. I admit, however, the possibility of his being identified with Ishō'yabh I, of Arzōn (581—595),<sup>4)</sup> born in Bēth Arbāyē; it is expressly stated that he was on good terms both with Chosrau Parwēz II and with the Emperor Maurice. He was also on terms of intimacy with king Nu'man of al-Hīra. But the data are all so general — and purpo-

1) Among the companions of the Prophet, mention is made of one 'Abd Allah ibn Sargis, whose father, SPRENGER thinks (*ibid.* II, 385) is our Sergius. A Christian Sargis is mentioned by Ibn Hisbām (ed. WÜSTENFELD, 985); and Mas'ūdī (SPRENGER, II, 149) says he was of the 'Abd al-Ḳais tribe. Theophanos speaks of him as *Σεργίος πατριάρχης*, I, 335, 5.

2) Ed. BUDGE, I, 109. It is to be noted that his place of living is not Bosra, as in the Mohammedan legends, or Mecca — but al-Medinah (Yathrib). In our Arabic text, he is said to be a native of Antiochia; in the Syriac (A) of Tershōn(!) in Palestine. In B, in the end note, he is made to be a native of Bēth Garmai — which fits in well with my identification. The city of his birth is there given as Shushan.

3) Thomas of Marga, ed. BUDGE, *Index*. He is called "of Bēth Arbāyē", *ibid.* I, LXXIV. WRIGHT, *Syriac Literature*, 169. In *B.O.* II, 416 we have an Ishō'yabh who came with a delegation from Najrān to make a treaty with Mohammed; HOFFMANN, *Auszüge*, 179. — In the Arabic text before us, the name is given as Murhib (Murhab?); which I do not remember ever to have seen as a proper name. It is undoubtedly a derivative of **مُرْهَب**.

4) Thomas of Marga, I, LXXIV; II, 40. 90; WRIGHT, *Syriac Literature*, 129.

sely so vague — as to make all these identifications very uncertain.

For the Syriac text I have made use of three Mss. Ms SACHAU 87<sup>1)</sup> is a modern copy; but it is the only one which is complete. That part of it which contains the Bahira legend is written in a Jacobite hand — probably of the last century. The text seems, in places, to have been amplified, and needs, here and there, some rectifications. But it is undoubtedly a copy of a good original. Some of the proper names are curiously misspelled: the influence of Arabic is evident; *e. g.* in the name ܡܚܡܬܬ; in the superscription even ܡܚܡܬܬ; <sup>2)</sup> but this is evidently the work of a later hand. In this heading, also, the word ܫܪܥܝܢܐ, *Saracen*, occurs. This may be due to western influences. It might afford us some clue as to the dating, at least of part of the story; but the derivation of the word is even yet not clear.<sup>3)</sup> I have designated this Ms by A.

Ms SACHAU 10 is older than the preceding by at least 100 to 150 years.<sup>4)</sup> It is written in a good small Nestorian hand. Unfortunately it is defective at the beginning. The Ms itself is defective also at the end — but not the Ba-

1) See SACHAU, *Kurses Verzeichniss*, p. 9.

2) The form almost reminds one of *Mahumet*, the way the name is spelt in the old *Chanson de Roland*. See ed. of LÉON GAUTIER, Paris 1880, p. 564.

3) But the term is quite old; AMARI, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, I, 75: "presso Plinio il vecchio, Tolomeo e Stephano Byzantino denota alcune tribù e piccole popolazione; Ammiano Marcellino e Procopio l'usano in significato più vasto; e gli scrittori occidentali dopo l'islamismo gli danno la estensione che io ho accennato. Indi si vede come successivamente si allargasse quella denominazione tra il primo e 'l quarto e poi di nuovo tra il sesto e il settimo secolo dell' era volgare."

4) The Ms may even be as old as the XIV<sup>th</sup> or XV<sup>th</sup> century. It is hard to make exact distinctions in Nestorian Mss; the script has a peculiar uniformity.



hira legend. For, to this have been added further notices directed against Mohammedanism. I have used the signature B for this Ms.

Ms C is the property of the Rev. Mr. A. YOHANNAN, lecturer in Oriental Languages at Columbia University. It is a mere fragment containing twelve leaves, in a modern Nestorian hand of the last century. It evidently goes back to the same original as does B, to which I have given its variant readings.

The Jacobite and Nestorian Mss cover the same ground; but their readings vary to such a degree, that I have found it inexpedient simply to take one as a basis and give the readings of the other on the margin. The mass of variants would have been simply bewildering. I have preferred to regard them as two recensions of a common original; and I have, therefore, printed both in full. This method certainly facilitates the use of the texts.

Of the Arabic text there are seven Mss in European libraries:

- I. Ms Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale) Arabe 215 = Supplem. 107; a clearly written Ms dated A.D. 1590. The Bahira legend is found on ff. 154—176. Designated as A.
- II. Ms Paris Arabe 70 = Ancient fonds 170, ff. 50—126, a Ms of the fifteenth century. The first three pages are wanting. I have only collated it for about one quarter of the text. Designated by P.
- III. Ms Paris Arabe 71 = Ancient fonds 171. This is a copy (made in the 17<sup>th</sup> century) either of the preceding or of its original. But it is an excellent copy and very readable. I have, therefore, collated it throughout, in preference to P, which has suffered somewhat in course of time. Designated by X.
- IV. Ms Paris Arabe 258 = Ancient fonds 156, ff. 48—64; of the commencement of the fifteenth century. The

Ms is written in a slovenly manner; the script is bad, and in numerous places the paper is completely torn through. I have made a complete copy of it. Designated by E.

V. Ms Gotha A. 2875, ff. 47 b—67 b;<sup>1)</sup> an excellently written Ms of the thirteenth century. Prof. PERTSCH was kind enough to send the Ms to Berlin in 1889 for my use. Designated by D.

VI. Ms Bodleian 199, a rather carefully written copy on paper.

VII. Ms Vatican 176, written in the year 1594. I know of this Ms only through the reference to it in STEIN-SCHNEIDER, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*, p. 160. The citation from this Ms in SIKE's *Evangelium Infantiae*, p. 84 I have not found in the other Mss.<sup>2)</sup>

Of these Mss APX represent the same recension. From purely practical considerations I have construed the text on their basis. E, which is the oldest of the Mss, ought to have been used as the basis. It contains the shortest text; written before the various expansions were made. But it stands alone; and being in a miserable condition, I have not had the courage to use it for this purpose. I have occasionally cited it in the notes to the Arabic text. D contains the latest expansion. The text is a very good one, and its readings have been very useful. I have, therefore, given a complete account of its variant readings in the notes.

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1) PERTSCH, *Die Arabischen Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha*, IV, 548.

2) It appears to be extant, however, in the Bodleian copy, according to NICOLL's *Catal.*, p. 58.



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[illegible]



[illegible]



























SACHAU 87 شېږي اډه. اښو که شېږي لاکه اشېږي. اښو که  
 مخسټې ځلټلې ځلټو، مخ مېږي ځلټې شېږي ښو. اښو که  
 شېږي ځلټو، ځلټو ځلټو، ځلټو ځلټو ځلټو: ځلټو  
 ځلټو. مخ ښو که ځلټو ځلټو ځلټو ځلټو ځلټو  
 ښو که ځلټو ځلټو ځلټو ځلټو ځلټو ځلټو  
 مخ ځلټو ځلټو ځلټو ځلټو ځلټو ځلټو  
 اډه ځلټو مخ ځلټو شېږي اډه. ځلټو مخ شېږي  
 اډه ځلټو اډه. اښو که مخسټې ځلټو ځلټو ځلټو: اښو  
 ځلټو شېږي اډه ځلټو ځلټو ځلټو ځلټو ځلټو  
 ځلټو: اښو که شېږي ځلټو ځلټو ځلټو ځلټو ځلټو  
 ځلټو. ځلټو ځلټو: ځلټو ځلټو ځلټو ځلټو ځلټو ځلټو  
 ځلټو ځلټو ځلټو ځلټو ځلټو ځلټو.

[illegible]

1 C حده 2 C حدا 3 C adds something, which has been partly crossed out; but the whole is illegible 4 C + حدهما, evidently a mistake 5 C حدها 6 C حدها 7 C منه



[illegible]

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[illegible]

1 C بنت 2 C ولا زينا 3 C اذا 4 C + ما 5 C فخر  
 انك تسمي كره. انما اسمك لسمعتك جد ص يهنا لا مخونا (sic!)  
 and, ولد C 7 مخ C 6 يلعنا آنا C 5 اسم صوب شهيف  
 صمسم C + 8 مصاصم





[illegible]

1 C مخلص 2 C بنجر 3 C + اقدس 4 C + اعنوب  
5 C > 6 C حنظل 7 C مكنى 8 C سلع 9 C اعمك  
10 C ورمب اقدس







[illegible]

1 C اِسْكَم 2 C ) to end of sentence 3 C مَمْنَعُ 4 C هَتَدُ?  
 5 C اَمْعَدُ 6 C اَمْعَدُ 7 C اَمْعَدُ






SACHAU 87 <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> <sup>7</sup> <sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup> <sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup> <sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup> <sup>19</sup> <sup>20</sup> <sup>21</sup> <sup>22</sup> <sup>23</sup> <sup>24</sup> <sup>25</sup> <sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup> <sup>28</sup> <sup>29</sup> <sup>30</sup> <sup>31</sup> <sup>32</sup> <sup>33</sup> <sup>34</sup> <sup>35</sup> <sup>36</sup> <sup>37</sup> <sup>38</sup> <sup>39</sup> <sup>40</sup> <sup>41</sup> <sup>42</sup> <sup>43</sup> <sup>44</sup> <sup>45</sup> <sup>46</sup> <sup>47</sup> <sup>48</sup> <sup>49</sup> <sup>50</sup> <sup>51</sup> <sup>52</sup> <sup>53</sup> <sup>54</sup> <sup>55</sup> <sup>56</sup> <sup>57</sup> <sup>58</sup> <sup>59</sup> <sup>60</sup> <sup>61</sup> <sup>62</sup> <sup>63</sup> <sup>64</sup> <sup>65</sup> <sup>66</sup> <sup>67</sup> <sup>68</sup> <sup>69</sup> <sup>70</sup> <sup>71</sup> 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<sup>140</sup> <sup>141</sup> <sup>142</sup> <sup>143</sup> <sup>144</sup> <sup>145</sup> <sup>146</sup> <sup>147</sup> <sup>148</sup> <sup>149</sup> <sup>150</sup> <sup>151</sup> <sup>152</sup> <sup>153</sup> <sup>154</sup> <sup>155</sup> <sup>156</sup> <sup>157</sup> <sup>158</sup> <sup>159</sup> <sup>160</sup> <sup>161</sup> <sup>162</sup> <sup>163</sup> <sup>164</sup> <sup>165</sup> <sup>166</sup> <sup>167</sup> <sup>168</sup> <sup>169</sup> <sup>170</sup> <sup>171</sup> <sup>172</sup> <sup>173</sup> <sup>174</sup> <sup>175</sup> <sup>176</sup> <sup>177</sup> <sup>178</sup> <sup>179</sup> <sup>180</sup> <sup>181</sup> <sup>182</sup> <sup>183</sup> <sup>184</sup> <sup>185</sup> <sup>186</sup> <sup>187</sup> <sup>188</sup> <sup>189</sup> <sup>190</sup> <sup>191</sup> <sup>192</sup> <sup>193</sup> <sup>194</sup> <sup>195</sup> <sup>196</sup> <sup>197</sup> <sup>198</sup> <sup>199</sup> <sup>200</sup> <sup>201</sup> <sup>202</sup> <sup>203</sup> <sup>204</sup> <sup>205</sup> 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<sup>866</sup> <sup>867</sup> <sup>868</sup> <sup>869</sup> <sup>870</sup> <sup>871</sup> <sup>872</sup> <sup>873</sup> <sup>874</sup> <sup>875</sup> <sup>876</sup> <sup>877</sup> <sup>878</sup> <sup>879</sup> <sup>880</sup> <sup>881</sup> <sup>882</sup> <sup>883</sup> <sup>884</sup> <sup>885</sup> <sup>886</sup> <sup>887</sup> <sup>888</sup> <sup>889</sup> <sup>890</sup> <sup>891</sup> <sup>892</sup> <sup>893</sup> <sup>894</sup> <sup>895</sup> <sup>896</sup> <sup>897</sup> <sup>898</sup> <sup>899</sup> <sup>900</sup> <sup>901</sup> <sup>902</sup> <sup>903</sup> <sup>904</sup> <sup>905</sup> <sup>906</sup> <sup>907</sup> <sup>908</sup> <sup>909</sup> <sup>910</sup> <sup>911</sup> <sup>912</sup> <sup>913</sup> <sup>914</sup> <sup>915</sup> <sup>916</sup> <sup>917</sup> <sup>918</sup> <sup>919</sup> <sup>920</sup> <sup>921</sup> <sup>922</sup> <sup>923</sup> <sup>924</sup> <sup>925</sup> <sup>926</sup> <sup>927</sup> <sup>928</sup> <sup>929</sup> <sup>930</sup> <sup>931</sup> <sup>932</sup> <sup>933</sup> <sup>934</sup> <sup>935</sup> <sup>936</sup> <sup>937</sup> <sup>938</sup> <sup>939</sup> <sup>940</sup> <sup>941</sup> <sup>942</sup> <sup>943</sup> <sup>944</sup> <sup>945</sup> <sup>946</sup> <sup>947</sup> <sup>948</sup> <sup>949</sup> <sup>950</sup> <sup>951</sup> <sup>952</sup> <sup>953</sup> <sup>954</sup> <sup>955</sup> <sup>956</sup> <sup>957</sup> <sup>958</sup> <sup>959</sup> <sup>960</sup> <sup>961</sup> <sup>962</sup> <sup>963</sup> <sup>964</sup> <sup>965</sup> <sup>966</sup> <sup>967</sup> <sup>968</sup> <sup>969</sup> <sup>970</sup> <sup>971</sup> <sup>972</sup> <sup>973</sup> <sup>974</sup> <sup>975</sup> <sup>976</sup> <sup>977</sup> <sup>978</sup> <sup>979</sup> <sup>980</sup> <sup>981</sup> <sup>982</sup> <sup>983</sup> <sup>984</sup> <sup>985</sup> <sup>986</sup> <sup>987</sup> <sup>988</sup> <sup>989</sup> <sup>990</sup> <sup>991</sup> <sup>992</sup> <sup>993</sup> <sup>994</sup> <sup>995</sup> <sup>996</sup> <sup>997</sup> <sup>998</sup> <sup>999</sup> <sup>1000</sup>

SACHAU 10, fol. 15 b <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> <sup>7</sup> <sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup> <sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup> <sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup> <sup>19</sup> <sup>20</sup> <sup>21</sup> <sup>22</sup> <sup>23</sup> <sup>24</sup> <sup>25</sup> <sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup> <sup>28</sup> <sup>29</sup> <sup>30</sup> <sup>31</sup> <sup>32</sup> <sup>33</sup> <sup>34</sup> <sup>35</sup> <sup>36</sup> <sup>37</sup> <sup>38</sup> <sup>39</sup> <sup>40</sup> <sup>41</sup> <sup>42</sup> <sup>43</sup> <sup>44</sup> <sup>45</sup> <sup>46</sup> <sup>47</sup> <sup>48</sup> <sup>49</sup> <sup>50</sup> <sup>51</sup> <sup>52</sup> <sup>53</sup> <sup>54</sup> <sup>55</sup> <sup>56</sup> <sup>57</sup> <sup>58</sup> <sup>59</sup> <sup>60</sup> <sup>61</sup> <sup>62</sup> <sup>63</sup> <sup>64</sup> <sup>65</sup> <sup>66</sup> <sup>67</sup> <sup>68</sup> <sup>69</sup> <sup>70</sup> <sup>71</sup> <sup>72</sup> <sup>73</sup> <sup>74</sup> <sup>75</sup> <sup>76</sup> <sup>77</sup> <sup>78</sup> <sup>79</sup> <sup>80</sup> <sup>81</sup> <sup>82</sup> <sup>83</sup> <sup>84</sup> <sup>85</sup> <sup>86</sup> <sup>87</sup> <sup>88</sup> <sup>89</sup> <sup>90</sup> <sup>91</sup> <sup>92</sup> <sup>93</sup> <sup>94</sup> <sup>95</sup> <sup>96</sup> <sup>97</sup> <sup>98</sup> <sup>99</sup> <sup>100</sup> <sup>101</sup> <sup>102</sup> <sup>103</sup> <sup>104</sup> <sup>105</sup> <sup>106</sup> <sup>107</sup> <sup>108</sup> <sup>109</sup> <sup>110</sup> <sup>111</sup> <sup>112</sup> <sup>113</sup> <sup>114</sup> <sup>115</sup> <sup>116</sup> <sup>117</sup> <sup>118</sup> <sup>119</sup> <sup>120</sup> <sup>121</sup> <sup>122</sup> <sup>123</sup> <sup>124</sup> <sup>125</sup> <sup>126</sup> <sup>127</sup> <sup>128</sup> <sup>129</sup> <sup>130</sup> <sup>131</sup> <sup>132</sup> <sup>133</sup> <sup>134</sup> <sup>135</sup> <sup>136</sup> <sup>137</sup> <sup>138</sup> <sup>139</sup> <sup>140</sup> <sup>141</sup> <sup>142</sup> <sup>143</sup> <sup>144</sup> <sup>145</sup> <sup>146</sup> <sup>147</sup> <sup>148</sup> <sup>149</sup> <sup>150</sup> <sup>151</sup> <sup>152</sup> <sup>153</sup> <sup>154</sup> <sup>155</sup> <sup>156</sup> <sup>157</sup> <sup>158</sup> <sup>159</sup> <sup>160</sup> <sup>161</sup> <sup>162</sup> <sup>163</sup> <sup>164</sup> <sup>165</sup> <sup>166</sup> <sup>167</sup> <sup>168</sup> <sup>169</sup> <sup>170</sup> <sup>171</sup> <sup>172</sup> <sup>173</sup> <sup>174</sup> <sup>175</sup> <sup>176</sup> <sup>177</sup> <sup>178</sup> <sup>179</sup> <sup>180</sup> <sup>181</sup> <sup>182</sup> <sup>183</sup> <sup>184</sup> <sup>185</sup> <sup>186</sup> <sup>187</sup> <sup>188</sup> <sup>189</sup> <sup>190</sup> <sup>191</sup> <sup>192</sup> <sup>193</sup> <sup>194</sup> <sup>195</sup> <sup>196</sup> <sup>197</sup> <sup>198</sup> <sup>199</sup> <sup>200</sup> <sup>201</sup> <sup>202</sup> <sup>203</sup> <sup>204</sup> 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<sup>271</sup> <sup>272</sup> <sup>273</sup> <sup>274</sup> <sup>275</sup> <sup>276</sup> <sup>277</sup> <sup>278</sup> <sup>279</sup> <sup>280</sup> <sup>281</sup> <sup>282</sup> <sup>283</sup> <sup>284</sup> <sup>285</sup> <sup>286</sup> <sup>287</sup> <sup>288</sup> <sup>289</sup> <sup>290</sup> <sup>291</sup> <sup>292</sup> <sup>293</sup> <sup>294</sup> <sup>295</sup> <sup>296</sup> <sup>297</sup> <sup>298</sup> <sup>299</sup> <sup>300</sup> <sup>301</sup> <sup>302</sup> <sup>303</sup> <sup>304</sup> <sup>305</sup> <sup>306</sup> <sup>307</sup> <sup>308</sup> <sup>309</sup> <sup>310</sup> <sup>311</sup> <sup>312</sup> <sup>313</sup> <sup>314</sup> <sup>315</sup> <sup>316</sup> <sup>317</sup> <sup>318</sup> <sup>319</sup> <sup>320</sup> <sup>321</sup> <sup>322</sup> <sup>323</sup> <sup>324</sup> <sup>325</sup> <sup>326</sup> <sup>327</sup> <sup>328</sup> <sup>329</sup> <sup>330</sup> <sup>331</sup> <sup>332</sup> <sup>333</sup> <sup>334</sup> <sup>335</sup> <sup>336</sup> <sup>337</sup> <sup>338</sup> <sup>339</sup> <sup>340</sup> <sup>341</sup> <sup>342</sup> <sup>343</sup> <sup>344</sup> <sup>345</sup> <sup>346</sup> <sup>347</sup> <sup>348</sup> <sup>349</sup> <sup>350</sup> <sup>351</sup> <sup>352</sup> <sup>353</sup> <sup>354</sup> <sup>355</sup> <sup>356</sup> <sup>357</sup> <sup>358</sup> <sup>359</sup> <sup>360</sup> <sup>361</sup> <sup>362</sup> <sup>363</sup> <sup>364</sup> <sup>365</sup> <sup>366</sup> <sup>367</sup> <sup>368</sup> <sup>369</sup> <sup>370</sup> <sup>371</sup> <sup>372</sup> <sup>373</sup> <sup>374</sup> <sup>375</sup> <sup>376</sup> <sup>377</sup> <sup>378</sup> <sup>379</sup> <sup>380</sup> <sup>381</sup> <sup>382</sup> <sup>383</sup>





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SACHAU 10, fol. 19 b

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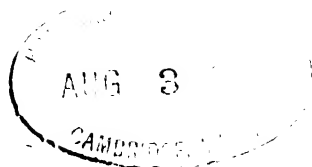






عَنكَ خَدِيمًا: سَهْرِيهِ اِيْلَفْ تَفَمَمًا: هَجَبَسْ مَخِيْرَالَا: م: اَمْر  
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(To be continued.)



## A Christian Bahira legend.

By *Richard Gottheil*.<sup>1)</sup>

### Translation of the Syriac texts.

#### A. Translation of Ms SACHAU 87, foll. 48 a ff.

(202)<sup>1)</sup> Relying upon the might of God, our Lord Jesus Christ our hope, I now write the Story of our master Sargis, who is called Sarḳāyā, B'hīrā and Suryāyā (they also call him the hater of the cross, the anchorite, who dwells on Mt. Sinai),<sup>2)</sup> and how he instructed Mohammed. Amen!

My Beloved! This Rabban Sargis related to me, Išo'yabh the monk, the story of his sickness, of his journeys to the holy Mountain of Sinai, of the kingdom of the Ishmaelites, one thing after another, until the end;<sup>3)</sup> especially of the belief of the sons of Hagar, of the conversation<sup>4)</sup> which Sargis had with Mohammed the prophet

1) See Vol. XIII, p. 189 ff. — The figures in parentheses refer to the pages of the Syriac text in Vol. XIII.

2) In the *Apology of Al-Kindī* it is said that "he was also called by the companions 'Gabriel', and at other times, 'the faithful Spirit'". See the translation by MUIR (1887), p. 72. The passage bracketed in the text seems to be a later addition.

3) The text adds here "for these appeared to Sargis in the likeness of twelve beasts, different one from the other", which seems also to be an interpolation.

4) Observe the use of *ܡܠܬܬܐ* here in the sense of "conversation".

of the Saracens, of the questions and the answers given by Sargis to Mohammed, of the going of Rabban Sargis to the wilderness of Yathrib among the Ishmaelites; how<sup>1)</sup> he was driven away by the bishops who lived at that time — but [not,]<sup>2)</sup> as they say, because he hated the cross, was he driven from the Church, but because he said that only one cross should be erected in a church, and that it was proper to bow down only to one, because the Messiah had been crucified upon one cross and not upon many. He also said that it was not proper to bow down to a cross of stone, or silver, or gold, or copper, or of any material other than wood; that this material be not like the idols which idolatrous nations have fashioned, they who bow down to idols. After he had been driven out by the bishops and elders because of this which he had said, Rabban Behira went away and came to the wilderness of Yathrib, to the Ishmaelites. He lived with them in peace and quiet; and was held by them in love and confidence through the instrumentality of Mar Sabhrīšō,<sup>3)</sup> the monk, — he who had worked many great miracles, and for whom No'man, ruler of the Arabs, had sent because of a sickness, with which he, No'man, (203) was sick.<sup>4)</sup> For he was troubled by an evil spirit of the Devas, just as was Saul at the time of the prophet David. Now this No'man dwelt in the primitive city of the Ishmaelites, 'Arabī,<sup>5)</sup> which belonged to them in the days of Kesrōn,

1) Text has **سرجس**. I have not met with a similar reduplication.

2) Read **سرجس**. Theophanes (ed. DE BOOR, I. 334, one Ms.) *δρόμαυ Σέγγιον κακόδοξον* (cfr. 329); 334, 14 he is called *γενδαββᾶ*.

3) On Sabhrīšō, a native of Pērōz-Ābādth in Bēth Garmai, see Bar 'Ebhṛāyā, *Chron. Eccles.* II, 107; GUIDI, *ZDMG* XL, 559; WRIGHT, *Syriac Literature* 133.

4) On the baptizing of No'man by Sabhrīšō, see Bar Ebhrāyā, *Chron. Eccles.* II, 106; ASSEMANI, *Bibl. Orientalis* II, 415; III, 108; WRIGHT, *Syriac Literature* 130.

5) No'man was king of Ḥira. I do not know how our author comes to name it 'Arbi. There was a Christian church province of **عربي**. Is

king of the Persians, and [at the time] when the true flocks of the innocent sheep of the Messiah were under the guidance of Mār Sabhrišō', Katholikos of the East, and of Mār Išō'zakkai, the anchorite. No'man became relieved of the evil spirit of the Devas which was troubling and torturing him grievously. And because there were few monks at that time and they were found only<sup>1)</sup> in certain places and certain lands, No'man and all his Arabian city received the right of baptism at the hands<sup>2)</sup> of Mār Sabhrišō', Katholikos of the East. For, before the time of No'man they had been accustomed to worship Uzzi<sup>3)</sup> — which is Aphrodite Zuhra — whom they mention even now when they swear, saying "No, by all-Uzzi".<sup>4)</sup> But I said to them, who is this by whom ye swear? He is the strong god,<sup>5)</sup> they answered, still keeping to their old tradition.

Now, after this,<sup>6)</sup> I, Išō'yabh the monk, went around

this meant? Cfr. NÖLDEKE, *Ghassānische Fürsten aus dem Hause Gafna's*, Berlin 1887, p. 12. A few lines further on, the name is given as ܐܘܙܝܐ.

1) I have read ܐܝܠܐ instead of ܐܝܠܐ. The Ms reads "were not found in every place" — which may be correct.

2) Reading ܡܢ, in place of ܡܢܐ.

3) The text has ܐܘܙܝܐ. I have read ܐܘܙܝܐ. The words ܐܘܙܝܐ ܐܘܙܝܐ are undoubtedly a gloss. Cfr. BO III, 109. PAYNE-SMITH 3244, 2144. On the god Uzza, see CAUSSIN DE PERCIVAL, *Histoire des Arabes* I, 269, 312, and the material collected by WELLHAUSEN, *Skizzen* III, 30 sq. DOUGHTY, *Arabia Deserta* II, 211. This deity seems to have been worshipped especially in Hira; NÖLDEKE, *Geschichte der Perser* 171. Al-Mun-dhir offers up a man to Al-Uzza; NÖLDEKE, *Ghassānische Fürsten* p. 18.

4) I have translated in this way, thinking of the Arabic لا والعزى; but the text has ܐܘܙܝܐ, where the ܐܘܙܝܐ may be the Syriac "verily".

Is the expression ܐܘܙܝܐ equivalent to ܪܒܐܢܐ? Yākūt III, 664.

5) According to the meaning of the Syriac ܐܘܙܝܐ?

6) Read ܐܘܙܝܐ.

among the mountains, barren places<sup>1)</sup> and caverns, in which anchorites lived. I went to the holy Mt. Sinai, to Egypt, to the wilderness of Scete. I also went to the outer wilderness and came to Thebaïs. From there I went to the wilderness of Yathrib,<sup>2)</sup> and to the wilderness [inhabited by] the Ishmaelites, sons of Hagar the Egyptian. The Ishmaelites were uncivilized and simple like the wild asses of the wilderness. They had neither order nor law, running wild like untamed horses. They worshipped the image of a mouse,<sup>3)</sup> which is a shēda. There I found this Rabban Sargis among them. He was from the Holy Land, from a city of the name TDŠN. In rank he was a priest; learned and well-versed in the reading of the Scriptures. He was called by [the children of] Hagar<sup>4)</sup> Behira and prophet, because he was accustomed to prophesy to them in regard to their kingdom, and in regard to the twenty-four kings who ruled over their posterity. <sup>5)</sup>This Rabban Sargis was advanced in age. Thus (204) I, Išō'yabh the anchorite, called the monk, went to Rabban Sargis, to his cell. I greeted him and was blessed by him.

Now when Rabban Sargis saw me, he sighed and wept bitterly, saying: "I have been in this wilderness for forty years; and but for thee [who art come] this day, I have not seen a single Christian. Now I know that the end of my life has arrived." I, 'Išō'yabh, commenced to speak

1) Cfr. B.A. and B.B. in PAYNE-SMITH, col. 2148.

2) On this, the real name of Al-Medinah, see ZDMG XXIV, 263; WELLHAUSEN, *Skizzen* IV, 1, note; HALÉVY, *Mélanges de critique et d'histoire* p. 90.

3) Read **وحده**. Cfr. 1 Sam. 6, 5. PIETSCHMANN, *Geschichte der Phoenikier* 228. NICOLL in a note to his Catalogue of the Arabic Mss in the Bodleian speaks of their being charged with worshipping an idol **الأكبر**! see II, 58. In the first addition to Syriac Ms B this mouse is identified with Iblis.

4) Read **حطب**.

5) Here the Arabic text commences.

and asked him, when he had come to that wilderness, and for what reason. He answered me as follows:— Whilst I was in the monastery of the anchorites, where I had lived for a long time, the idea occurred to me to go to Jerusalem, to pray and to seek a blessing in the holy places there. I arose and went from that monastery, and carried out my idea. I went and was blessed by the holy sepulchre, by Golgatha, and the other holy places. After this I went to Mount Sinai and to the place where Moses the prophet had received the heavenly vision. In that place there is a monastery,<sup>1)</sup> and many monks and brothers were there who tended it. I remained with them for many days. I heard some of the brethren who dwelt there say that every one who dwells or sleeps on top of that mountain Sinai is thought worthy of some revelation from heaven; *i. e.*, he who is come from the East is sent to the West, and he who is come from the West is sent to the East.

Now when [the monks] had finished chanting the Psalms of David, and the evening prayer, they came down from the upper church<sup>2)</sup> to the monastery which was below. Watchmen went around the upper church in order to guard it, so that no one should go and remain there on the top of the mountain; for they would not permit anyone to go up and sleep there. Now when I had greeted them and had eaten bread with them, I Sargis rose secretly and went to the top of the Mountain Sinai, prayed there and received a blessing from the place. A glorious vision was revealed to me by God. I saw an indescribable light (205) <sup>3)</sup> which lit up the whole earth, seven times the light of the sun. I drew near to one of the angels, saluted him, and bowed down to him. He said to me:— “take courage Sargis and do not fear”. I looked

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1) The monastery of Saint Catherine?

2) Syriac: **ܡܢܚܪܐ**.

3) Ms SACHAU 10 commences here.



and saw the four winds in the heavens struggling with each other. I saw a white animal<sup>1)</sup> come upon the South wind. It went to the East, the West, the North and the South and rested in the West. On the head of the beast were twelve horns. I said to the angel, what is this, O Lord? He answered me saying, this represents the kingdom of the Ishmaelites. Then I saw a black beast<sup>2)</sup> [coming] upon the North wind. It came and went to the East and the West, the North and the South<sup>3)</sup> and rested in the land of Babylon. Upon its head were seven horns of iron, one of gold, two of silver and copper.<sup>4)</sup> I said to the angel, what is this, O Lord? He answered, this represents the victory of the children of Hashem, son of Mohammed.<sup>5)</sup> I saw also a bull coming with much quiet and humility,<sup>6)</sup> on the South (206) wind.<sup>7)</sup> On its head were five horns of gold, two of silver and one of iron. It went to the four corners of the earth, and came and dwelt in Assyria. I said to the angel, what is this bull? He answered, this represents the kingdom of Mehdi, son of Faṭmeh.<sup>8)</sup> Just as the bull is

1) Cfr. the "white garments" in the Daniel Apocalypse: *Revue d'histoire des Religions* XXXIII, p. 62 seq. (ZOTENBERG in MEXX's *Archiv*, I, 413).

2) Black was the colour of the Abbasides. See GOLDZIEHER, *Revue des Études juives* XXX, 3, note.

3) Both Mss add "and the west" — which is manifestly wrong here.

4) *i. e.* 12 horns.

5) As the text stands "Hashem son of Mohammed", we are unable to think simply of the Banū Hashem, the direct descendants of the prophet, so named from his great grandfather. As we are getting down to the time of the Mahdis, we may possibly have here a reference to the followers of Abū Hāshim ibn Mohammed ibn al-Ḥanafīyya: Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolegomenes* (tr. DE SLANE) I, 34, 406; *Schahrastāni* (tr. HAARBRÜCKER) p. 169; KREMER, *Kulturgeschichte des Islams* p. 376; DARMESTETER, *The Mahdi* (American Ed. 1885) p. 34. These received the name "Kaiṣaniyyah"; Ibn Khaldūn 500.

6) Read مضعود with SACHAU 87.

7) Read مضعود with SACHAU 87.

8) *i. e.* the Mahdi ibn Fāṭimah. His followers held to the Imām-ship of the direct descendants of 'Alī. Scharastani 169 seq.; v. KREMER, 376;

quiet, gentle and peaceful, so shall his rule be more quiet and peaceful than that of all other Arab kingdoms.

I saw a lamb clothed in the skin<sup>1)</sup> of a wolf. It came upon the West wind. I said to the angel, what is this, O Master? He answered, this represents the kingdom of the sons of Sarpin,<sup>2)</sup> who will destroy<sup>3)</sup> all the kingdom of the sons of Ishmael<sup>4)</sup> with the edge of the sword, and will drive them unto the mountain of Yathrib. I saw also a he-goat coming from the North. I said to the angel, what is this, O Master? He answered, this is the seed of Yoktan, who are the Kaṭrānāyē.<sup>5)</sup> I saw also a lion coming from the South, destroying everything, eating everything, and treading down everything with great force. Nothing could resist him. (207) I said to the angel, what is this, O Master? He answered, his name is Mightiest of the Mighty, Mahdi son of Aīshah,<sup>6)</sup> in whose days there will be anguish, the like of which has not been seen [even] in the days of Nebuchadnezzar and in the days of Belṭhsaṣar his son. I saw also a man clothed in yellow garments,<sup>7)</sup> coming from the East. I said to the angel, what is this, O Master? He answered, this is the last kingdom of the sons

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DARMESTETER, 41. These were called, the "Zeidiyyah". Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbers*, tr. DE SLANE, II, 499.

1) Ms "garments".

2) The readings vary here; B has *Ṣāfūn*, A *Sarpin*. The Arabic Mss have *Ṣufyīn*. If this last reading is the correct one, we have mention here of Sufyānī, the Mahdi of the Umayyids; GOLDZIHNER, *Muhammedanische Studien* I, 149; WEIL, *Geschichte der Chalifen* II, 217. Further on, the Syriac text has *Sufīnī* (A).

3) Read in B *مذهب* with A. The reading *مذهب* might be translated "who will drive out".

4) In B read *مذهب*, as in A.

5) A reads *مذهب*; evidently a mistake for *مذهب*. See ZA XIII, p. 195.

6) This whole passage is omitted in B, by a mistake.

7) On the "yellow" colour, see above.

of Hagar and Ishmael, in which will occur their end and their disappearing.

I saw also a chariot, decked out with all manner of beautiful things. I said to the angel, what is this, O Master? He answered, this is the kingdom of the Romans who will rule<sup>1)</sup> at the end of all the kingdoms of the world. Then I saw a great serpent<sup>2)</sup> creeping and swallowing everything before it without pity. I said to the angel, what is this, O Master? He answered, this is the son of destruction, the false Messiah, who will come at the end of the world. I saw also Satan falling as a flash of lightening from heaven,<sup>3)</sup> filled with envy and hatred towards the whole race of man. I saw also a man coming upon the East wind, clothed in beauty and majesty and honor. I said to the angel, who is this, O Master? He answered me, this is Elijah<sup>4)</sup> the prophet who is to come at the end of the world;<sup>5)</sup> and he is (208) the messenger before the Messiah.

I saw also three angels clad in white and clothed in a flame. I said to the angel, who are these, O Master? He answered me, These are Gabriel, Michael and Sarafaël.<sup>6)</sup> One of the angels drew near<sup>7)</sup> to me saying, follow me! Then I followed him in great joy and in fear. I went with him to heaven in spirit — not in the body. I saw the heaven of heavens which gave forth a great unspeakable light, and the rows of the angels<sup>8)</sup> which were arranged in nine degrees, and the Spirit of God descending

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1) Reading  in B.


2) The "great red dragon" *Revelations* XII, 3?

3) Luke X, 18.

4) I Kings XVII, 1.

5) A adds, by mistake, "and he it is who will come at the end of the world".

6) A has, as the third angel, "Sarafaël", B "Azariel".

7) In B, read .

8) On the rows of angels, see BUDGE, *Book of the Bee* p. 9.

and coming down; the ancient of days triumphant (he who is the Messiah, God, Saviour of the world, Son of God), the world dissolved and passing away,<sup>1)</sup> the heavens rolled up like a scroll and passing away — everything passing away and coming to naught; the earth dissolved and become desolate and waste. Everything was as if it did (209) not exist. I saw the judge sitting and awarding all men according to their deeds. I saw the just entering Paradise. I saw Adam and Eve, Enoch and Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Elias, Aaron the priest, the multitude of prophets, the company of apostles, the twelve seats of the apostles, the host of martyrs and confessors; David singing and saying Hallelujah; the tree of life and the tree of good and evil, the stream flowing in the midst of Paradise, and becoming four<sup>2)</sup> rivers, Tigris, Euphrates, Pishon and Giḥon, which give life to all creation. The Seraph then said to me, look and examine carefully the deep which is Gehenna. I saw an unquenchable fire, an everlasting worm, eternal punishment, and numberless human beings sighing and gnashing their teeth, howling, lamenting and groaning. No one listened to them, and no one . . . .<sup>3)</sup> to give them rest from the punishment which does not end. At once I heaved a sigh and said, what profiteth it a man, if he gain the whole world, but loose his soul.<sup>4)</sup> (210) These things I saw in the spirit, not in the body.

The angel said to me, Go to Maurice, king of the Romans; break thy rod before him and say to him: thus shall thy kingdom be broken; not, as thou thinkest, wilt thou leave it to thy sons after thee. I went and did as he had commanded me. But he (Maurice) was not angry with me,

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1) *Revelations* XVI, 20; VII, 12—17, and the descriptions in the *Kur'ān*.

2) In B read **البحر**.

3) Passive participle of **عزل** "who was appointed"?

4) A free version of Mark VIII, 36.

nor did he answer me in an evil way; but said, the will of God be done.<sup>1)</sup> Now when one of the captains of the army, who was called Phoka<sup>2)</sup> the wicked, heard that I had been sent by God, he raised a rebellion against him (Maurice) and killed him, and [the threat] was fulfilled upon him in very deed. I then went to the land of the Persians, to Chosrau, king of the Persians. I broke before him half of my staff — saying to him, Thus<sup>3)</sup> shall thy kingdom be broken by the sons of Ishmael. Neither was Chosrau angered at me, nor wrathful. Chosrau asked me saying, how didst thou go to Maurice, king of the Romans, and what didst thou say unto him? and in what manner (211) and in what form didst thou receive this vision? I answered, saying to him, I saw<sup>4)</sup> wild asses coming up against thee, and they took the crown from off thy head, threw it to the ground, and trod it under foot.<sup>5)</sup> Now Chosrau, when he heard this, did not answer me an evil word, but said, God in peace, withersoever thou wishest. Then I left the land of the Persians, and came to Bēth Rhūmāyē,<sup>6)</sup> proclaiming that it was proper that men should worship one cross and not many, because the Messiah was crucified

1) Evagrius has something to say of a divine sign which came to Maurice. See *Theodoriti et Evagrii Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. READING, Cantab. 1720, Book V, Chap. XXI.

2) On the rebellion of Phocas (Nov. 602) see GIBBON IV, 74 (of the standard American ed.); NÖLDEKE, *Aufsätze zur Persischen Geschichte* 125. Does this whole episode contain a reminiscence of St. Sergius? NÖLDEKE, *ibid.*, GIBBON IV, 64. The martyr Sergius is connected with Chosroes: GIBBON IV, 441.

3) In B, reading ܡܬܢ for ܡܬܢ.

4) Reading in B ܐܢܝ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ; the text following is out of order.

5) Reading ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ.

6) Bēth Rhūmāyē means *Asia Minor*; see PAYNE-SMITH 496. BUDGE, *Book of the Governors* I, CLXXIX. II, 123. B has Bēth Ārāmāyē; and in A, Sergius is in Sen'ar (Shin'ar). The reading of B is to be preferred. Bēth Rhūmāyē = τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόν, Theophanos I, 305, 23.

All this Rabban Sargis B'hīrā related to Išo'yābh — the coming of Sargis to the sons of Ishmael, to the wilderness of Yathrib: When I came here to the sons<sup>3)</sup> of Ishmael, they were uncouth and simple, living an evil life, and nourishing themselves meagerly and poorly<sup>4)</sup> fed. They worshipped idols and stones, and the stars of heaven, even everyone worshipping the one whom he loved most. They comported themselves like unto wild beasts, possessing neither understanding nor knowledge. When I saw that they were in such a condition, and stiff-necked, I foretold to them all that would happen to them,<sup>5)</sup> saying, You will surely rule over the whole earth for ten weeks of years. When they heard this from me, they all arose in a body; built me a cell in their midst, and dug for me a well of water. I have dwelt with them until this day in peace and quiet — [free] from persecution.

Now I, Išo'yabih, stayed<sup>6)</sup> with B'hīrā (212) seven days. From him I learned all that had taken place. Sargis B'hīrā took sick and died. He had instructed the sons of Ishmael and had been a chief among them, because he had prophesied to them that which flattered them, had written<sup>7)</sup> and

2) Reading محمّد.

3) Reading **படி.**

4) Reading ၵႃႉ.

5) അവരെ എവിടെ? "[The circumstances] in which they would be thrown"?

6) Reading in B Am.

7) Reading  $\infty$ .

had given them the book which they call *Ḳurān*. When this Rabban Sargis was dead, they embalmed him in myrrh and aloës and many [other] spices; placed his body in a vault<sup>1)</sup> and buried him. By means of his bones a great wonder was performed. A man had killed his brother, and the murderer had said, the servant of the man who was killed murdered him. He took refuge at the bones of Sargis. Through the assistance of God and the intervention of Sargis, it became known who had killed him. After a little while the right hand of the murderer withered, whilst he himself confessed publicly [his deed].

After the death of Sargis, another man rose up by the name of Kaleb,<sup>2)</sup> the scribe. He was of the seed of Abraham, (213) born in adultery among the Jews who lived there. He was a scribe. This scribe, Kaleb, became their teacher<sup>3)</sup> after Sargis, and became a false prophet. He taught lies, proclaimed falsehoods, and corrupted that which Sargis had written and taught, saying to them, that which he said in reference to the Messiah, son of Mary, 'behold I go and I shall send to you the Paraclete'<sup>4)</sup> — this one is Moham-

1) Or, "sarcophagus" *جف*.

2) In A, the name is written *كالب* i. e. Kaleb (ZDMG XXXIV, 738); in B *كاف* Kā'af. In the Arabic texts, the name is properly written Kā'b. So in *The Apology of Al-Kindi*, ed. MUIR, p. 89. The same charge is made against Paul by Mohammedan apologetes. See Elias of Ṭirhān, ed. BAETHGEN, p. 5 note; and was frequently made against the Jews. See ZAW XV, 141. STEINSCHNEIDER, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur* 320. On Kā'b, see Ibn Kutaibah (ed. WÜSTENFELD) 219. ZDMG XXXII, 345. Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolegomènes*, tr. DE SLANE, I, 24. GOLDZIEHER, *Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte der Shia* 10. The Shiites claim also that Ḥajjaj ibn Yusuf caused many verses of the *Ḳur'ān* to be omitted; especially such as contained the names of the house of Abbas. Al-Kindi p. 77. GOLDZIEHER, *loc. laud.* 14. Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbers*, tr. DE SLANE, II, 499.

3) A adds *سوف*; evidently a mistake for *سوف*.

4) In Arabic *بارقليط*, see Ibn Jauzī, ed. BROCKELMANN in DELITZSCH and HAUPT, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* III, 50, 16. Cfr. John 13, 14; 15; 27 etc. STEINSCHNEIDER, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur* 325.

med. There shall be unto you a sign: when Mohammed will have died and will have gone to heaven, as did Jesus, son of Mary, he will rise up after three days. Now when Mohammed had died, his fellow-tribes men gathered together, embalmed him and buried him. They placed him with great honor in a house,<sup>1)</sup> and closed the door upon him, in order to see what would happen to him. No one was able to go into the house because of the odour which came from the corpse of Mohammed. It was not necessary for anyone to see what was the matter. But when Kaleb the scribe died, he was buried like an ass, because his prophecy had not come true, and he had been found to be a lyer and a falsifier. They (*i. e.* the people), because of their ignorance, discarded the words of Rabban Sargis B'hīrā, (214) which were the truth, and received and accepted this tradition<sup>2)</sup> which Kaleb the scribe had given them: even to this day they say that the Paraclete is Mohammed.

After the death of Sargis B'hīrā I, Iṣō'yabh went to the disciple of Sargis who was called Ḥakīm, and I questioned him regarding Sargis and his doings. I learned everything from him in a lucid manner. This Ḥakīm told me saying: In my youth I was covered with leprosy, and was sorely tried by Satan. My parents sent me away and drove me from them. Whilst I was wandering about in this wilderness, this Sargis found me. He said to me, why wanderest thou, my son, in this wilderness, waste and desert? I answered and said to Rabban Sargis, because of the putrid and horrible<sup>3)</sup> leprosy which is upon my body, my parents have driven me from them. Rabban Sargis then said to me, do thou but believe in the Messiah, the son of God, and he will heal thee. At once, as Sargis had

1) A "hut"?

2) Reading in B ~~ḥakīm~~.

3) ~~ḥakīm~~, really "hard, trying".



said to me, I believed in the Messiah God, and I was healed of the horrible leprosy; and the evil spirit which was troubling me left me. (215) Then I, Ḥakīm, at once took Sargis and brought him to my parents. When they saw that I was healed, great wonder and astonishment seized them in regard to the magnitude of the wonder that had happened to me. When the inhabitants of that wilderness heard [of it], they brought him a man who had been very cruelly tormented by a devil, and he healed him. [They brought] also another man who had a cancer in his mouth. When they had brought him near, Sargis healed him. A barren woman also came. By means of his prayers, she became<sup>1)</sup> the mother of many children. Many wonders did this man do, which are not written down in this book.

Because there was no water in that wilderness, the Arabs and their flocks came continually to him and rested themselves near to Sargis at that well. They were accustomed to come to him and to ask him and to put all manner of questions to him. Whatever Rabban Sargis told them, they did: because he taught them gradually this faith which they profess. This, then, is the prophecy of Rabban Sargis B'ḥirā in regard to Mohammed, which he prophecied to them saying: God will raise up for you a great man. (216) He called him Mohammed. One day when they came to the well, they and their flocks, Rabban Sargis was standing outside the cell. He saw them at a distance — also Mohammed the youth who was coming with them. As soon as Sargis saw the youth Mohammed, he understood that the youth would become a great man; because he saw a vision above his head, the likeness of a cloud.<sup>2)</sup> He knew that in him would be fulfilled his own prophecy. They reached the well and came in to him, as was their

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1) Reading **Loon**.

2) On the halo above Mohammed's head, see *Fihrist* II, 12, and GOLD-  
ZIEHER, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, 1896, p. 191.

custom. But Mohammed sat and watched for them to come out after having been with Sargis, so that he might go in to him. Then Sargis said to the Saracens, a great man has come with you; let him enter! They answered, we have with us a boy, an orphan; he is silent and uncouth. Sargis said, bid him enter, that I may see him.

When Mohammed had come in to him, and he had explained to them the vision which had been [seen] above his head, — for they had not noticed the vision — Sargis arose and blessed Mohammed saying, (217) The Lord<sup>1)</sup> God will increase thee and thy seed after thee. Thou wilt increase and become very numerous<sup>2)</sup> upon the earth; twelve kings will go forth from thy loins. Their resting-place will be in the land of Sen'ar. Their kingdom will increase throughout the whole world. They will subjugate many cities; powerful kings will quake before them. They will prosper, together with their descendants. There will then be quiet and peace in the world. There will be no kingdom standing before them, which they will not cause to tremble. They will make many people tributary.

The youth Mohammed at once opened his mouth and said to Sargis, tell me, whence didst thou receive this vision? Sargis: From Mount Sinai, from the place where Moses received his divine visions. Mohammed: Who gave thee a revelation in reference to me? Sargis: God, blessed be his name, He gave me a revelation in reference to thee, and explained it to me. Now when Mohammed heard these words from Sargis B'hīrā, that he had prophesied in regard to him and his descendants after him, he said, what was the content? Sargis, in reference to thee; for thou art destined to become a king and leader of thy people. Twenty-four kings shall come from thee. Thou wilt turn

1) Reading in B ܠܗܝܘܐ?

2) ܠܗܝܠ for ܠܗܝܠ. See GOTTHEIL, *Elias of Ṣobha* p. 40. BARTH, *Etymologische Studien* p. 50.

thy people away from the worship of images (218) to the worship of the one true God. M.: What God dost thou worship? S.: I worship the living God who has made the heavens, light and darkness, seas and rivers, fowl of the heaven and beast of the earth. I worship this true God; I profess and believe in His son Jesus the Messiah, and in the holy Spirit. Him the angels in heaven and man on earth worship, praising him and crying out, 'holy, holy, holy is the Lord Almighty, he whose praises fill heaven and earth'. M.: Where is the dwelling-place of the God, of whom thou speakest these things? S.: In heaven is his dwelling-place. M.: Whence dost thou know of him? S.: From the law and the prophets. M.: Who are the prophets? S.: Righteous men and holy. They fear God and keep his commandments. He gave them visions by means of the Holy Spirit and made known to them hidden things.<sup>1)</sup> S.: The Spirit of God is sent from Him and comes to everyone who fears Him, and does His will. M.: Which one of these (219) dost thou worship? S.: I worship God. M.: Whom did mankind worship in former times? S.: Some [worshipped] fire, some the sun, moon and stars; some a stone. When God saw all this error rampant in the world, he had pity upon mankind, and sent them prophets and seers who turned them from the error of the demons to the worship of the one true God. M.: Which one of these dost thou worship; and what is thy faith? S.: I am a Christian. M.: What is Christianity? S.: It is the faith in the Messiah. M.: What is the faith in the Messiah? S.: The Messiah is the Word of God and His Spirit. The Ishmaelites themselves acknowledge that the Messiah is the Word of God and His Spirit. (220) M.: Is the Messiah God, or prophet, or man? S.: The Messiah is the Word. The

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1) There is evidently a question of Mohammed omitted here in both Mss. According to the Arabic, it would be "can anyone have this Spirit?"

Word of God the Father was sent by God, descended and dwelt in the womb<sup>1)</sup> of the holy virgin Mary. She was with child, and bore [a son] without copulation, as Isaiah had foretold,<sup>2)</sup> 'Behold a maiden will conceive and bear a son, and his name shall be called Immanu-El, which is translated "God with us".' M.: How could a maiden conceive without copulation? S.: The Word of God descended from heaven, and took on a body from the maiden. From her the Messiah was born in human shape, though in person he was really a God. M.: Where is the Messiah now? S.: After he had risen from the grave, the Messiah ascended to heaven. M.: (221) How long<sup>3)</sup> did he remain in the grave? S.: Three days. M.: How did he die? S.: The Jews crucified him upon the cross in Jerusalem, and he died. After that he had arisen from the grave, he showed himself to his disciples, and was revealed to them. After forty days he went to heaven, and took his seat at the right hand of his Father, above the leaders and rulers. He is the cause of [eternal] life for all men. M.: Why dost thou worship a man whom the Jews crucified? S.: I worship the man by means of whom he did wondrous things, and [executed] many signs upon earth; whom he took with him to heaven, and through whom he will accomplish the resurrection for the just and the wicked; because he is the God who is to be worshipped, who can not be seen by the eye. M.: Ask of me whatsoever thou wishest, and I will do for thee as (222) thou sayest. S.: I ask [thy consideration] for the Christians, the followers of the Messiah. There are amongst them monks,<sup>4)</sup> heads [of

1) In B, reading ܡܠܟܐ.

2) Reading ܐܝܬܝܗ.

3) B ܡܠܟܐ = ܡܠܟܐ.

4) On Mohammed and the Christian monks *etc.*, see the Medinah "Constitution" §§ 4. 72. 143 in WELLHAUSEN, *Skizzen* IV; *cfr.* for the passage here especially BO II, 416.

monasteries], priests and deacons. They are meek and just, neither haughty nor proud. They are in the fear of God and keep His commandments. They have no desire for [this] world. There is in them neither guile nor haughtiness nor overbearing. Some of them have neither wives nor sons nor daughters, nor riches, nor possessions: but all their hope rests in God. For this reason they have separated themselves, have gone out of the world, that they may pray for kings and lords, for the just and for the wicked. They go to monasteries and cloisters in order to dwell alone and in quiet. (223) If thou dost this to them, God will preserve thee and thy sons after thee; thy kingdom will increase in all the earth; and every kingdom that will oppose them(l) will be vanquished by them. Ye will terrify it, according to the word of our Lord Jesus Christ. No one will terrify them and the kingdom of(?) the invincible<sup>1)</sup> cross upon which the Messiah our deliverer was crucified.

Then Mohammed opened his mouth and said to Sargis: How will my people believe in me, seeing that I can read no book, and am entirely unlearned?<sup>2)</sup> Rabban Sargis answered: I shall teach thee everything that thou desirest. M.: I fear that they who know me will kill [me] and thee, and do [us] harm. We shall then be [looked upon as] lyers.<sup>3)</sup> (224) S.: I shall teach thee everything that thou wishest at night; do thou teach them during the day. M.: If they say to me, 'whence hast thou received this vision?', what shall I answer them? S.: Say to them, 'The Angel Gabriel came to me and spake to me. He

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1) The text of this whole passage has suffered somewhat. My translation is a tentative one.

2) On this charge, so frequently made against Mohammed, see *Actes of the Congress of Orientalists at Florence II*, 357; G. WEIL, *Mahomet savait-il lire et écrire*; HIRSCHFELD, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Koran*, p. 3; WELLHAUSEN, *Skizzen III*, 211.

3) The text, here, does not seem to be in order.

taught me everything.' M.: If they ask me, 'what is there in that world?', what shall I answer them? S.: Say to them, 'Paradise and all manner of good trees are there'. M.: If they say to me, 'what shall we eat and drink there?', what shall I answer them? S.: Say to them, 'Ye shall eat and drink in Paradise, and it shall be well with you. There are in Paradise four rivers, one of wine, (225) one of milk, one of honey, and one of cool water. These are: the Tigris of wine, the Euphrates of water, the Pishon of milk, the Gihon of honey.'<sup>1)</sup> M.: If they say to me, 'how shall the needs of the body<sup>2)</sup> be satisfied', what shall I answer them? S.: Say to them, '[the excrement] will be expelled as is sweat from the body'. M.: If I say to them, 'Ye will eat in Paradise and it will be well with you', they will answer, 'we can not exist without copulation'. S.: Say to them, 'in the garden are maidens, large-eyed and plump and beautiful of countenance. Seven are given to each man.' M.: If I say, 'Fast ye', they will answer me, 'we can not fast a whole night and a whole day'; what shall I say to them? S.: Say, 'Eat and drink all the night until you can distinguish<sup>3)</sup> a white (226) thread from a black and a red one<sup>4)</sup> — for the space of thirty days only'.<sup>5)</sup> S.: Warn them against wine, and of flesh from that which has died and that which has been strangled; from violence, drunkenness, intemperance, oppression and hateful talk. Judge the cause of the orphans and widows, honor thy father and thy mother that thy days may increase upon the earth; that it be well with thee before the Lord, and thy sins be for-

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1) Ku'ran, Surahs 47 and 61.

2) In B, read ما في الجسد? ما في الجسد. The sentence is misplaced here.

3) In B, read ما في الجسد?

4) Ku'ran 2, 183 (cfr. Mishnah, Berakhōth I, 2 etc.); GEIGER, *Was hat Mohammed* etc. p. 90; HIRSCHFELD, *Beiträge* p. 77.

5) A question seems here to have fallen out.

given. M.: How ought one to pray to God? S.: Pray seven times a day<sup>1)</sup> — do not say to them, 'five times during the day, and twice at night' — all your life; as David the prophet prayed when he said, 'Seven times a day have I praised thee because of thy righteous judgments'.<sup>2)</sup> Let Friday be distinguished by you above all the [other] days of the week. On it summon an assembly, and [offer] the customary prayers; for on it (227) ye received divine laws and statutes. M.: If they say, '[bring us] some testimony which will verify your promises to us', what shall I say? S.: I shall write a book for thee and shall teach thee. On a [certain] Friday I shall put it upon the horn of a cow. Do thou go and assemble the people in one place. Seat thyself among them and say, 'this day the Lord will send<sup>3)</sup> you from heaven a great book, laws and statutes, by which you shall be guided all your life'. When thou seest the cow coming, arise from thy seat, go towards it and take the book from its horn in the sight of all thy people. Then say to them, 'This book (228) has come down from heaven, from God. The earth was not worthy enough to receive it; therefore this cow received it on its horn. From that day the book was called *Surat albakrah*'.<sup>4)</sup>

Mohammed was a meek and simple youth, loving the teachings of Sargis. From him he learned the book they call *Qur'an*. This then was the prophecy of Rabban Sargis, who prophesied in regard to them and related all the things which will come to pass. In the days of the sons of Ishmael there will be great distress, war, hunger, pesti-

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1) According to the *Qur'an*, only five prayers are necessary: GRIMME, *Muhammad* II, 124. For the present custom *cfr.* LANE, *Manners and Customs*, Index.

2) Reading وَيَسْأَلُ. Is this really a quotation?

3) Reading مِنْ سَمَاءٍ, in B also.

4) The title of Surah 2.

lence in every place and in every land. Cities will be overturned upon their inhabitants. The word which David spake will come to pass, 'Their graves are their dwelling-places for ever, (229) and their resting-place unto all generations'.<sup>1)</sup> Those who remain will be only one out of ten, because God despiseth his people, and does [not] allow his inheritance to live, *i. e.* the land of promise.

In the year 1055 of Alexander, son of Philip, the Arabs will rise and kill<sup>2)</sup> their king.<sup>3)</sup> After this, there will be a great disturbance for one week.<sup>4)</sup> In that year<sup>5)</sup> — the sixth thousand — was fulfilled the word of the prophet, 'twelve mighty men will he beget, and behold! twelve mighty men will come forth from his loins'.<sup>6)</sup> But Sargis added twelve others, making twenty-four. The kingdom of the Arabs was divided into four, the white kingdom of the sons of Ishmael, the black kingdom of the sons of Hāshem son of Mohammed; the red kingdom of the sons of Sūfīnī, the yellow kingdom of the yellow king<sup>7)</sup> who will come at the end of the kingdom of the sons of Ishmael — which is the kingdom of the sons of Mohammed — and will take away the kingdom of the sons of Ishmael: so that it be given to a little man, Hāshem. This one will come from a strange land on the North wind<sup>8)</sup> with power and might, in the likeness of a

1) ψ 49, 12.

2) Reading يقتلهم. Did the writer fall out of his role here?

3) Walid II, died April 16. 744.

4) Reading سبع. The text of A would mean "seven-fold".

5) This would be 744/5. See Introduction.

6) Genesis?

7) The "yellow" colour was the colour of the Franks; but see Introduction. These is a Shi'ite tradition that, "Jésus descendra auprès du Minaret blanc. Il viendra revêtu de deux *mehrouda*, c'est-à-dire de deux robes jaunes, teintes avec du safran de l'argile rouge," Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolegomènes*, tr. DE SLANE, II, 198. In the Daniel Apocalypse, Red is the sign of the king of Rūm — evidently, the Crusaders. See Introduction.

8) Reading عنه.



black cloud coming upon the earth — *i. e.* [over] the sons of Hāshem. Eight kings will go forth from his loins. Woe unto the people [who live] in the time when the sons of Hāshem rule, (230) who are called . . . .<sup>1)</sup> of darkness. They are a rod of discipline<sup>2)</sup> sent over the whole earth — by whom it seemed proper to God to discipline the whole world. For god called Assyria a rod. This is the discipline of the sons of Hāshem over the whole earth. They are called haughty, proud, supercilious in their person and in their tyranny. They let their hair<sup>3)</sup> grow long like that of women. Everything they see they desire, and are satisfied with nothing. The killing of everything comes easy to them. As water do they pour out the blood of men. In their days will come famine and pestilence in every country; distress, trials, vexations and rebellions in every place, war and the shedding of blood. Men will sell their sons in those days for the tribute which will be imposed upon them and which will increase without mercy.<sup>4)</sup> They will make slaves of free men and free women, and will neither have pity upon the old men, nor will they have compassion upon the young men. At that time men will become food for wild beasts and fowl and birds. Their yoke will become strong over the world seven times more than that of their brethren. In their eyes Christians are as naught. They will uproot cities, will call them by their [own] names; will increase and dwell (231) in the land of Sen'ar. Their rule and power will be in the city of Babylon<sup>5)</sup> and in the land of the Chaldaeans.<sup>6)</sup> They

1) Ms has ܡܠܟܐ, which I do not understand. B has ܡܠܟܐ.

2) Isaiah X, 5.

3) Reading ܫܥܝܪܐ; B has ܫܥܝܪܐ.

4) On the ܟܪܝܬܐ, see GOLDZIEHER, *Revue des Études Juives* XXX, 6.

The Jews, also, pretended that there existed a rescript of Mohammed freeing them from the "head-tax": STEINSCHNEIDER, *Polemische Literatur* 398.

5) In B, read ܒܒܝܠܐ.

6) Reading ܒܒܝܠܐ; as in B.

will take captive and will bring to the city of Babylon all the kings of the earth -- them, their wives, and their children, bound in bonds and chains. All the cities of the earth and their possessions will become tributary to Babylon. Kings,<sup>1)</sup> in their crowns, shall worship Babylon. All the peoples of the earth shall be collected within her, and shall become tributary<sup>2)</sup> to her yoke — both men and beasts — by doing work and [raising] buildings. Signs and wonders will become apparent in her. Everyone will reveal in his work some wisdom and knowledge. In the end, the city of Sen'ar will be destroyed over its inhabitants. Then will be fulfilled upon them that which was said, 'Woe to thee, City of the Amārāyē, to whom the king has come, but thou art fled'.<sup>3)</sup>

All these things will happen in the days of the sons of Mohammed. Signs will be seen in the heavens, great things (232) on earth. The sun will grow dark in their days,<sup>4)</sup> and the moon will not give forth its light. Dust<sup>5)</sup> will come down from heaven, and also the stars, because of the strong winds which will blow. The land of Babylon will shake and move twice in one day. The sons of Ishmael will increase as sand upon the sea shore. If they were able, they would compel all people to follow their religion and their faith, and would wish all to be called "Sons of Ishmael", and not sons of their parents. Then the sons of Ishmael and the sons of Abraham will be divided, will kill and plunder each other and plunder . . .

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1) This and the following page have been badly transmitted in the Mss. In several places the translation is merely tentative.





2) Reading صالحين.

3) Quotation?

4) Matthew XXIV, 7; Mark XIII, 24; Revelations VIII, 12. *Cfr.* similar descriptions in the Daniel Apocalypse; MACLER, *Les Apocalypses Apocryphes de Daniel* 87.

5) Reading طوفان.

. . . . ., <sup>1)</sup> because their end is at hand and the last of their days. Then will Hāshem bear seven kings: (233) two will be called(?), <sup>2)</sup> one will be called with two names; the names of two are mentioned in the Law; one has a name of three letters, and one of seven letters. When these will have ruled and will be dead, know that the kingdom of the sons of Hāshem is at an end. Then the sons of Ishmael will awake, as if from a sleep. They will fight among themselves. Everyone will say of himself, 'I am the king'. God will permit them to do this; for he will incite <sup>3)</sup> them against each other, so that their end and their destruction will be brought about by themselves. Because the earth will be hard pressed by them and filled with their wickedness, the kingdom of the sons of Hāshem will be taken away from them; and God will give over the sons of Hāshem into the hands of the sons of Faṭma, <sup>4)</sup> the one for whom all kingdoms of the sons of Ishmael hope. He will requite to the sons of Hāshem according to their deeds; because they did not walk in accordance with the law which Mohammed taught them, but took their own faith and [their own] teaching. For the faiths of the sons of Faṭma and of the sons of Hāshem do not agree. This son of Faṭma, whose name is Mahdi, will uproot the strong place which Hāshem built in the land of Babylon, and will raze the wall of Babylon, destroy its fortress and kill its inhabitants. Then will be fulfilled that which is

1) "and be one against the other" — if this is the rendering of  . In this sense, I read the following , and not .

2) We must evidently supply here "by one name", as in B. I have not been able to make out the references in the text.

3) Reading ; B has .

4) There is evidently something wrong with the text here. "Sons of Faṭma" would mean the Fatimide Caliphs. But, in the following the singular is used; and B has simply "Mahdi bar Faṭma". Or, does the writer refer to al-Mahdi, the first Fatimide Caliph of Egypt? Cfr. the following.

written, 'Woe to thee, City of Sen'ar, woe to thee, City of Babylon of the Chaldaeans'.<sup>1)</sup>

(234) In the days of Mahdi, son of Faṭma, there will be continued rest and perfect peace, the like of which has not been in the world; for this Mahdi has been sent by God. He will keep and observe the commands and laws of their prophet Mohammed, changing nothing of that which is written in the book Ḳurān. For they will rule from the first Mohammed until the last Mohammed, in whom the kingdom of the twenty-four<sup>2)</sup> kings, sons of Mohammed, will take its end. The names of the sons of Faṭma:— 'Abhdā (servant), Ṭābhā (good), Shāma' (the one who listens), Pālah (worshipper)<sup>3)</sup> — those who are called the sons of Sūfīnī, and are clad in red, as is the colour of blood. All their anger and their rage will vent itself upon the sons of Ishmael; because their kingdoms do not agree with one another, just as that of the sons of Faṭma does not agree with that of the sons of Hāshem. They will pursue the sons of Ishmael, and will drive them to the wilderness of Yathrib, having no mercy upon them, nor showing them grace, neither upon the old men, nor upon the young men. They will kill them as locusts; they will rip open their pregnant women and will have no mercy upon them — in order to punish them with evil punishments,<sup>4)</sup> (235) as they did to the sons of Yoḳṭan who are the goats. They will go to the land of promise. They will be broken by the lion,<sup>5)</sup> — Mahdi who was sent<sup>6)</sup> by God as a messenger to turn the world from idolatry to the

1) Quotation? Text has سَلَحْنُ for سَلَحْنُ.

2) B has "twenty-five" — evidently a mistake for "twenty-four". Who is the last Mohammed mentioned here?

3) The translation of these words is the merest guess.

4) Isaiah III, 9.

5) Reading لِي.

6) In B, reading مَنْ لِي لِي لِي لِي.



way of God,<sup>1)</sup> and have not observed the commandments which were commanded by the Messiah who said, 'Swear not by the heavens, for it is the throne of God'.<sup>2)</sup> But behold! they swear falsely by the Messiah. He said, 'love thy enemies';<sup>3)</sup> and, behold! they hate one another; and they swear by the Messiah, although this is not required of them. They deny the Messiah, although they are not driven hard. They pray to and worship created things more than their Creator. For this reason does God hand them over to all manner of tribulation. For this they will be killed, the monks will be stoned, and priests put to death like sheep. Believers will be subjected, mercilessly and without pity, to all manner of cruelties. [This will happen] because the hatred among them of one another has increased: They take bribes [and are] liars, magicians, lovers of bribes, lovers of their stomach, lovers of false worship, high-headed, proud, irascible, oppressors, robbers, defrauders, fornicators, adulterers, misers, intemperate, drunkards, quarrelsome — in whom are found all manner of evil habits. For this reason he handeth them over to the chastening of the evil sons of Ishmael — who are a bad people, a chastening sent to the whole world, because of their evil deeds. When all this will have happened, know that the end has come.

Then there will come from the East a man, a merciful king clothed in yellow garments. In his days there will be quiet and peace in the whole world. Churches and monasteries will be renewed and rebuilt. The truth will be proclaimed. He is the last king, (237) who will come at the end of the kingdom of the sons of Ishmael, who will collect the sons of Hagar and bring them to the wilderness of Yathrib, will punish them and will take vengeance for the former sins of their ancestors. And the Christians who

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1) Romans I, 23, 25.

2) Matthew V, 34.

3) Matthew V, 44.

will have become renegade and have called themselves Ishmaelites,<sup>1)</sup> he will torture greatly and make them suffer. He will put upon them a heavy yoke when he comes, saying: why have you denied the faith of your fathers and called yourselves Ishmaelites?, when ye were not such, and have cut off your foreskins that ye may appear as true believers? All these things ye have done, in order to be freed from the head-tax. You have left your own faith, and the excellent laws of your fathers, and have taken refuge among the sons of Hagar. Fie on thee, stupid camel-driver!<sup>2)</sup> all men accuse thee. The people of the earth are persecuted by thee, and no one escapes from thy rule who has not been subservient to thee and has labored for thee. Everyone will take refuge with thee, and there will come to pass with thee that which is written 'Woe upon those who deny the Messiah!'

After these things the king of the Romans<sup>3)</sup> will come from the West, he and a great multitude with him, and will rule over the whole earth for a week and a half. In those days there will be quiet and peace, the like of which has not been. Great peace will be in their kingdom, because it is the last peace of which our Lord spoke in the Gospels. In that very time the four winds of the heaven will be moved. Kings will rise up one against the other. The Turks, who are like wolves, will come. (238) Then will come the Libyans who are like dogs. They will mount up the river Euphrates. Then they will make war upon each other. After which their end will come and their destruction at their own hands. After these things, the treasures of the north will be opened; Gog and Magog<sup>4)</sup>

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1) Reading  قَوْمُ إِسْمَاعِيلَ.

2) PAYNE-SMITH 736; alluding to Mohammed's occupation before he took up preaching.

3) Does this refer to the Crusaders?

4) On Gog and Magog in Apocalyptic literature, see DE FAYE, *Les Apocalypses Juives*, Paris 1892, p. 59.

will come forth — those who are called “dog-men”.<sup>1)</sup> They will do and will execute upon the earth all manner of horrible things, eating up the reptiles of the earth, having no pity upon old men or compassion upon sucklings. After this will come the son of destruction in the likeness of a noxious snake. He will creep upon the earth, will swallow and destroy without compassion. Then he will send against him the angel of anger, will collect him and his people into one place, will burn and kill them in the twinkling of an eye, so that they burn and cook<sup>2)</sup> as though they were nothing. On that day the earth will be loosened from its hinges; the deeds of everyone will be requited, and the deniers counted<sup>3)</sup> together with the defamers.

Suddenly Elijah the prophet will appear, (239) and will kill the snake with the breath of his mouth. The king of the High Places will send forth God and will commit the kingdom to him. Then will come to pass the word of king David the prophet who prophecied when he sang, saying, ‘Cush will stretch forth the hand to God’.<sup>4)</sup> A kingly crown will be raised up and a royal cross to heaven. Of a sudden will arise and appear King Messiah, and will cause resurrection to reign.<sup>5)</sup> The first horn will sound; but all men will [still] sleep the sleep of death. The second horn will sound, and all those that sleep in the dust will awake and stand up and will be startled as if from the sleep of death. The angels will come down from the heights. The third horn will sound. They will gather the

1) Cfr. Dionysius of Telmahrē, ed. TULLBERG, 55, 3 — who cites Methodius. BUDGE, *History of Alexander* pp. 150, 152. Notice the compound word. The Arabic texts have “like a dog”.

2) Reading  or .

3) From .

4) ψ LXVIII, 31.

5) Revelations?



wheat, in order to separate the chaff from the wheat. The wheat they will gather into the storehouses of the Father and the mansions of on-high. The chaff they will bind and will throw into the fire which is never extinguished. The King Messiah will appear with his angels. In short, the coming of the Son of Man will be full of terror and tribulation: everything that can be seen will be scattered and will be twisted from its foundations. The earth will be shaken on its pillars.

We ask of the Messiah, our God, we pray for his blessing; we ask for his mercy, that he give [us], and that we obtain in his presence liberty and assurance, (240) and that he find us all worthy — [we], the sons of the holy Church, those who accept baptism, who drink his expiatory blood, who worship his saving cross — to stand at<sup>1)</sup> his right hand, that with that voice of sweet utterance, he may say to thee, 'Courage! enter [and stand] near the head of the Father; inherit the kingdom of heaven which I have prepared for you from the foundation of the world' — which shall be through the prayers of the Virgin, full of beauties, Daughter of God, the blessed Mary; together with all those holy men who have loved our Lord and have kept his commands. May the prayers of Mār Bar Šaumā<sup>2)</sup> and Mār Asia be with us! Amen!

#### B. Translation of Ms SACHAU 10, foll. 1 a ff.

(205) which lit up all creation. Its brightness was greater than that of the sun. I was very much afraid, and a great dread fell upon me. Then one of the angels drew near unto me saying: 'take heart and fear not!'. I saw the four winds of

1) Reading .

2) Undoubtedly the Bar Šaumā who has given his name to several convents. He was Bishop of Nisibis in 535, and an ardent propagator of Nestorianism. See the passages in PAYNE-SMITH 2380; Bar 'Ebhrāyā, *Chron. Eccl.* 503; WRIGHT, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts* III, 1123.

heaven struggling with each other; and behold! a white beast came on the South wind. It went to the East, to the South, to the North and to the West, and rested in the West. On its head were twelve horns. I said to the angel, what is this, O Lord? He answered me, this represents the kingdom of the Ishmaelites. Then I saw a black beast [coming] on the North wind. It went to the East, the West, the North, and the South, and rested in the land of Babylon. Upon its head were seven horns. I said to the angel, what is this, O Lord? He answered, the kingdom of the sons of Hāshem, son of Mohammed. I saw also a bull coming with much quiet and gentleness on the South (206) wind. On its head were five horns. It went to the four corners of the globe and sat down in Assyria. I said to the angel, what is this bull? He answered, this represents the kingdom of Mahdi, son of Faṭma. Just as the bull is quiet, gentle and peaceful, so shall his rule be more gentle and peaceful than that of all the other kingdoms. All the tribes of the Ishmaelites will attack him. In his day the rule of the Arabs will come to an end.

I saw a panther, clothed in garments of blood, [coming] on the West wind. I said to the angel, what is this, O Master? He answered, this represents the kingdom of the children of Şafan, who will destroy all the kingdoms and tribes of the sons of Ishmael with the edge of the sword, and will drive them to the mountain of Ethrab. I saw also a he-goat coming. I said to the angel, what is this, O Lord? He answered, this is the seed of Yoḡṭan, who are the Ẹatrāyē.<sup>1)</sup> I saw also a lion coming with great force and might; treading upon and destroying everything; eating everything. Nothing could resist him. (207) I said to the angel, what is this, O Lord? He answered, this is the last kingdom of the sons of Hagar, in which will occur their end and their disappearing from off the

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1) See above, p. 209, note 5.

earth. I saw also a chariot, decked out with all manner of beautiful things. I said to the angel, what is this, O Lord? He said to me, this is the kingdom of the Romans who will rule at the end of all the kingdoms of the world. Then I saw a great dragon, creeping as it came, and swallowing without pity. I said to the angel, what is this dragon, O Lord? He answered, it is the son of destruction, who will come at the end of the world. I also saw Satan falling from heaven as a flash of lightning, filled with envy, strife and hatred towards all [sons of] Adam. I saw also a man coming upon the East wind, clothed in majesty, beauty and honor. I said to the angel, who is this, O Lord? He answered me, this is Elijah the prophet, one of the inhabitants [of Gilead], who is to come at the end of the world. He is (208) the messenger before the Messiah. I saw also the crown of a king and a sacred cross arise and go up to heaven. I saw also three angels clad in fire and clothed in a flame. I said to the angel, who are these? The angel answered and said to me, Gabriel, Michael and Azariel.

One of these drew near a little to me saying, 'Follow me!' Then I followed him in fear and trembling. I went after him to heaven. I saw there a great indescribable light, and nine rows of angels and spiritual bodies in nine grades; the spirit of God descending from heaven and the ancient of days born on the clouds (he is the Messiah, the saviour of the world); the world dissolved and passing away; everything passing away and coming to naught; the earth dissolved and passing away. The earth had become desolate and waste; and everything was as if it (209) did not exist. I saw Adam, the father of us all; all the just and righteous fathers, Noah and his sons, Melchizedek, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Job and Enoch, Elias, Moses and Aaron; multitudes of prophets, the company of the Apostles, the twelve seats of the Apostles, David the king singing Hallelujah; the tree of good and evil; the great

spring welling forth in the midst of Paradise, and spreading out into four<sup>1)</sup> rivers — Giḥon, Pishon, Tigris and Euphrates, which give life to the whole world. The angel then said to me, look below to the deep and examine it carefully; for it is Gehenna. I saw an unquenchable fire, an everlasting worm, eternal punishment, numberless human beings, sighing, clashing their teeth, weeping, walking without cess and groaning. I heaved a sigh and wept and said, 'what profiteth it a man if he gain the whole world, but loose his soul.' (210) These things I saw with my spirit, not with my body. Again, the angel said to me, go to Maurice, king of the Greeks, and break thy rod before him, and say to him, 'thus shall thy kingdom be broken; not, as thou thinkest, will I give [it] to thy sons as an inheritance'. I went and did as the angel had said to me. But he (Maurice) was not angry with me and did not answer me in an evil way; but he said, "The will of God be done". Now when one of his captains — who was called Phocas the wicked — heard that I had been sent by God, he raised a rebellion against him, and [incited to] murder; and [the threat] was fulfilled upon him in very deed. I then went to the land of the Persians(?), and came to Chosrau the king. I broke half of my rod before him, saying, "So<sup>2)</sup> shall thy kingdom be broken by the wild ass of the wilderness, *i. e.* the sons of Hagar". He, neither, was angered at me, nor did he answer me in an evil way; but asked me, how I had gone to Maurice, king of the Greeks, what I had said to him, and what had been answered me from off Mount Sinai, (211) and how I had received the vision from God. He said, "What didst thou see there?" I answered, "[I saw] that a wild ass of the wilderness came<sup>3)</sup> and took the crown from off

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1) See above, p. 211, note 2.

2) See above, p. 212, note 3.

3) See above, p. 212, note 4.

his head . . . . .” He did not answer me in an evil way; but said, “Go in peace!” I left the land of the Persians and came to Bēth Armāyē, proclaiming to them (the people) that they should worship one cross and not many. When the bishops, priests, and leaders of Bēth Armāyē heard of me, they drove<sup>1)</sup> me from place to place. Then I left Sen‘ar and came to the wilderness of the sons of Ishmael. I went to them and proclaimed to them the kingdom of ten weeks. They built me a cell and dug me this well.

When I, Mār [Išō‘yabh], had stayed<sup>2)</sup> with them (212) seven days, Mār Sargis took sick and died. I interred him: his bones were laid at rest in his cell. Then they took his body and placed it in a house. Now, because he had prophesied to them that which flattered them, had written and given them the book which they call *Ḳurān*, they embalmed and buried him in great honor. Near to his bones God did a great wonder. A man had killed his brother, and the murderer had said, “The servant of the man has murdered my brother”. By means of the bones of Mār Sargis, the [real] murderer became known; for, at that very moment, his hand quickly withered.

When Sargis was dead, one of the Jews rose up, known by the name of Ka‘f the scribe. (213) He became for them a teacher and a prophet. He corrupted the teaching of Sargis, saying to them: the one of whom the Messiah said, ‘Behold! he will come to you after the Paraclete’, he is Maḥmad. (214) Behold! they hold to and follow this tradition<sup>3)</sup> until today, — [believing] that Maḥmad is the Paraclete. I learned the following from his disciple Ḥakim the white(?) who said to me, In my youth my whole body was covered with leprosy. I was, also, tried hard

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1) See above, p. 213, note 1.

2) See above, p. 213, note 6.

3) See above, p. 215, note 2.

by Satan. My parents drove me from them to . . . . . in the wilderness. This Mār Sargis, whom they call B'hīrā and "Chosen of God" found me, and asked me, saying, 'why wanderest thou in this wilderness all alone?' I answered him, 'My parents have driven me from them, because I am afflicted with this sickness of leprosy and of putrid boils'. He answered, 'Do thou but believe in the Messiah, the Son of God, and thou wilt be healed'. I said, 'If I will be healed, I shall believe'. Then he placed his hand upon my head and healed me. Thus he spake with his mouth, blessing my body and placing his hand upon my head: 'In the name of the Father and the Holy Spirit, and in the name of our Lord, Jesus Christ the Messiah.' [Then] the evil Spirit left me. (215) At once I returned to my parents. When they saw that he had healed my body, wonder and astonishment seized them. When all the inhabitants of that wilderness heard [of it], they brought him a man who had been very cruelly tormented by a devil. He made the sign of the cross over him and completely healed him. They also brought him a boy, deaf and dumb. He healed him on the spot, and opened his mouth and ears, so that he spoke and heard distinctly. Another boy also was healed, who was covered with leprosy. Many wonders did our Lord do through this holy Mār Sargis.

Now because there was no water in the wilderness in which they lived, they continually came to him, they and their flocks, and rested themselves at his well of water. It was the Messiah our Lord also who caused it to well forth in that place. They were accustomed to come to him at all hours of the day, and to put all manner of questions to him. Whatever he bade them do, they did for him; because he taught them gradually that which they profess, and prophesied to them, saying, 'God will raise up from among you a great man. (216) Kings of the earth will come forth from his loins, and he will increase much upon

the earth'. He called him Maḥmad. One day when they (the Arabs) came to the well, B'ḥirā was standing outside of his cell. He looked and saw at a distance that they were coming, and that Maḥmad was with them. As soon as he saw him, he understood that something great would happen with the youth; because he saw a vision [appear] above him. When they reached the well, they came in to him to the cell, as was their custom. The youth Maḥmad sat outside near the well — saying to himself 'When my brethren will have come out, I also shall go in'. But Mār Sargis B'ḥirā said to them, you have with you a man who will become great. They answered, we have with us a youth, uncouth and silent. Our Lord, Mār Sargis said, call him, that I may see him. When he had come in, Sargis sat down and related to them the vision which [he had seen] above [the boy's] head; but they had not noticed the vision. Then he blessed him saying, (217) the Lord<sup>1)</sup> will increase thee and thy children after thee; thou wilt increase and become very numerous upon the earth; twelve kings will go forth from thy loins. Their dwelling-place will be in the land of Babylon.<sup>2)</sup> Thy kingdom will increase over all the earth; lands and many cities will become subjugated to thee; powerful kings will quake. There will [then] be quiet in the whole earth. There will be no kingdom coming in contact with them which they will not cause to tremble.

#### Questions of Maḥmad and answers of Mār Sargis.

Now when Maḥmad heard from Sargis that he had prophesied about his family, about himself and his tribe, he asked him in regard to his tribe. Then Maḥmad asked Sargis, whence didst thou receive the vision from God? Sargis: From Mount Sinai, where Moses received the

1) See above, p. 217, note 1.

2) Reading .

vision from God. M.: And what was the content? S.: Thou wilt become great, a king, a prophet, a leader, a head for thy people: four kings will come out from thy loins. Thou wilt turn them towards God; away from the worship of demons (218) to the knowledge and worship of the one true God. M.: What God dost thou worship? S.: The God who has made heaven and earth, light and darkness, seas and rivers, fowl of heaven, animals, wild beasts and all things that are upon the earth; all mankind, together with the angels<sup>1)</sup> of light, and spirits who worship and praise him<sup>2)</sup> and cry out: Holy! Holy! Holy! is the Lord God almighty; heaven and earth are filled with his praise. At once he said: Where is the dwelling-place of the God, of whom thou speakest these things? S.: In heaven. M.: How dost thou know him? S.: From his creatures and from the prophets of old. M.: Who are the prophets of old? S.: Righteous men who feared God and kept his commandments. To them the Holy Spirit was revealed by God. [C: M.: Who is the Holy Spirit?] S.: The Spirit of God sent from him to everyone who fears him and does his will. M.: Whom dost (219) thou worship? S.: The living God. M.: Whom did mankind worship in former times? S.: Some [worshipped] light [C: fire], some stones, some the stars, some demons, some graven images. When God saw this idolatry in the world, [he had pity] upon mankind, and sent them the prophets, who turned the people from the idolatry of the demons to a knowledge of the truth, and the worship of one God. M.: Which one of these dost thou worship? What is thy faith? S.: I am a Christian. I worship one God. M.: What is Christianity? S.: The faith which the Messiah taught us. M.: Who is the Messiah? S.: The Messiah is the Word of God and His Spirit. (220) M.: Is he prophet, or man, or

1) مَلَائِكَةُ، i. e. مَلَائِكَةُ.

2) Reading رَحِمَهُ.



God? S.: Man, in whom God dwelt: The Word of God sent from heaven at the hand of Gabriel, head of the angels, to Mary the virgin, who is descended from Abraham and is of the seed of David; [and] who became with child without copulation, as the prophets had foretold. M.: How? A maiden [and] without copulation? S.: The Spirit of God descended from heaven, and took on a human<sup>1)</sup> body from the virgin, who bore a son without copulation. God thus became man. M.: Where is the Messiah now? S.: When he had risen from the grave, he ascended to heaven. M.: (221) How<sup>2)</sup> long was he in the grave? S.: Three days. M.: What was the cause of his death? S.: Of his own free will he submitted to punishment, and not through durance. A denier denounced him to the Jews, who crucified him in Jerusalem. He died and was buried. After three days he arose (C) from the grave and showed himself to his disciples. He certified to them his resurrection, and remained upon the earth for forty days. After this, he went up to heaven, and sat at the right hand of God in the holy of holies, above the leaders and the rulers. As happened with him, so will happen with (C) all mankind. M.: Why dost thou worship a man who was crucified by the Jews? S.: I worship the man by means of whom he did wondrous things, and executed signs upon the earth; whom he took with him to heaven and through whom he will accomplish the resurrection for the just and the wicked; because he is the God who is to be worshipped, who can not be seen by the eyes. M.: Ask of me whatsoever thou wishest, and I shall do it for thee, as thou (222) sayest. S.: I ask [thy consideration] for the Christians, imitators of the Messiah. There are some of them who have embraced this my way of life. They are called monks, being either priests or deacons. They

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1) See above, p. 219, note 1.

2) See above, p. 219, note 3.

have left parents and brothers and daughters, cities and everything of this world, have gone out into wilderness and desert, and have built monasteries and cells. They are meek, neither haughty nor proud. They are in the fear of God and keep his commandments. They wish neither for this world, nor for man (C: woman), nor children: but their whole hope is in God. For this reason they have separated themselves, have gone out of the world. They pray and ask [assistance] from God for kings and lords; for the just and for the wicked. [They wish] to inhabit<sup>1)</sup> a place of quiet and rest. In proportion to the kindness thou (223) wilt show them, God will lengthen thy life and that of thy children who come [after thee]. He will cause them to be numerous. Thy kingdom will increase as long as the world lasts. Any kingdom which attempts to oppose them will not move them. No one shall move them, except it be the kingdom of the Romans which has taken refuge in the cross — a mighty weapon which can not be overcome, upon which the Messiah, the Saviour of the world, was crucified.

Then said Maḥmad to Mār Sargis, [C: thou shalt have all that thou sayest; but how will they believe in me, seeing that I am unlettered, O Father?] He answered, I shall teach thee everything. M.: Those who know me will kill thee, and (C) make me ashamed. I shall then be unto them (224) a lyer. S.: I shall teach thee everything at night: do thou teach [it them] during the day. [M.:] If they say to me, 'Whence hast thou received this vision or teaching?', what shall I say to them? S.: Say to them, 'Gabriel came to me at night; he (C) taught me all that was to happen'. M.: . . . . . S.: Say to them, 'There is there a paradise, and a tree, and all manner of good things'. M.: If they say to me, 'What shall we eat and drink there?', what shall I answer them? S.: Say to

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1) Read **بالحضرة**.

them, 'Ye shall eat and drink in Paradise and it will be well with you. There are there four rivers: one of honey, (225) one of milk, one of wine, and one of water.' M.: Since you eat and drink in Paradise, is there [also] a satisfying of the wants of the body?' S.: [The excrement] will be expelled as is sweat from the body. M.: If they say to me, 'We can not exist there without copulation', what shall I answer them? S.: Say also to them, 'There are there beautiful maidens, large-eyed and handsome in appearance, gentle of look and very fat. Seven are given to one man.' M.: If I say, 'fast ye! and pray!', they will answer, 'We can not fast for a whole day'. What, then, shall I answer? S.: Order them to fast only for thirty days; but eat and drink all the night, until<sup>2)</sup> you can distinguish a white (226) thread from a black one. M.: If they say to me, 'What is it permissable for us to eat and drink, seeing that we care not to drink water?', what shall I answer? S.: Say, 'Abstain from wine and fornication; intemperance; the flesh of swine; from all manner of strangled or dead animals; from murder, perjury, partiality [in judgement], adultery, drunkenness, theft, robbery and oppression. Judge orphans and widows; honor father and mother, that thy days may increase upon the earth, and that thy sins be forgiven. M.: How ought one to pray to God — every day? S.: Build a house for God; pray five times during the day and two at night, during your whole life; sound the clapper. Let Friday be distinguished by you and honored more than all other days. On it summon a great assembly, and [offer] the usual prayers; because [on it] (227) ye did receive the Law. M.: If they say, 'Bring us some testimony [to prove] that your promises to us will come true', what shall I say to them? S.: I shall write a book and teach thee that which is in it. On a [certain] Friday

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1) See above, p. 221, note 2.

2) See above, p. 221, note 3.

I shall put it upon the horn of a cow. Do thou go and assemble the people in one place. Seat thyself near to them and say, 'Know ye, that this day the Lord will send<sup>1)</sup> you from heaven a great book, laws and statutes, by which you shall be guided all your life'. When thou seest the cow coming, arise from thy seat, go towards it, and take the book from its horn in the sight of every one. Then say to them, 'Behold! a book (228) has come down from God. The earth was not worthy to receive it — [therefore] this cow received it upon its horn.' Its name is called 'Surat albekrā' — even until this day.

Now Maḥmad, because he was a meek and simple boy, loved<sup>2)</sup> the teaching of Sargis from day to day; and he (Sargis) wrote for them, with the aid of Maḥmad, this book which they call *Ḳurān*. They studied it all the days of their life until B<sup>h</sup>īrā died, he who prophecied to them and said, 'All these things will happen to them in the days of the sons of Ishmael; (C) great distress, war, famine and pestilence will come upon the land — a quaking in heaven and much blood-shed in every place; cities will fall upon their inhabitants; the word of David will be accomplished, who said, 'their graves are their dwelling-places for ever, (229) and their resting-place unto all generations'. For God despiseth his people, and does not allow his inheritance to live, *i. e.* the sons of the land of Promise.

In the year 1055 of Alexander, son of Philip, king of the Romans, the Arabs slew their king. After him there was a great disturbance in the world for one week. In that year was fulfilled the word of God to the sons of Ishmael — that he(?) would beget twelve great men, and that twelve kings should go forth from his loins.

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1) See above, p. 222, note 3.

2) Read *ḥabib*.

To end is the kingdom of the great men of the sons of Ishmael. Then [comes] the kingdom of the sons of Maḥmad. Then will come to an end(?) the kingdom of the children (C) of Ishmael, and it shall be given to the young son Hāshem whom thou lovest. He will come from a strange land on the North wind in the likeness of a black cloud which covers the whole earth. These are the sons of Hāshem: eight kings will come forth from his loins. Woe unto the people in the time when the sons of Hāshem rule, (230) about whom it is said that they are of large stature, a black tribe sent [over the world]; by means of whom God castigates (C) the world; "the rod of the Assyrian anger", says Isaiah. Like the Assyrian will be the coming of the sons of Hāshem over all the earth. He calls them haughty, proud, supercilious — their hair grows long like that of women; they are satisfied with nothing. As water do they pour out the blood of men. Through them will come famine and pestilence in every place; war and the shedding of blood. Men will sell their children, in order to pay the head-tax. They will make slaves of free men and women; will have pity neither upon old men nor upon sucklings. Men will become food for the birds and the wild beasts of the earth. Their yoke will wax strong over the world, seven times more than that of their brethren. In their eyes mankind is as naught. They uproot cities of former kings, they build and increase (231) and grow numerous in the land of Sen'ar. All their glory and might is in the city of Babylon<sup>1)</sup> and the land of the Chaldaeans. The kings of the earth will be taken captive, and will come to Babylon, bound in chains, and their honored ones in bonds of iron. All the cities of [these] kings will be tributary to Babylon. All kings and peoples will come. The land of Babylon will be filled with men by the four winds of heaven, as locusts are piled up by the whirl-

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1) See above, p. 224, note 5.

wind. The land will moan because of its [many] inhabitants. In that time, the wisdom of the wise will be despised; the knowledge of the unlearned praised. Mercy will disappear from among men; parents having no compassion upon their children, and children showing no pity for their parents; brother not keeping faith with brother. A man will not disclose the secrets of his enemies to his own son . . . . . Slaves will be all-powerful, and will ride in chariots. Free men will be derided, and will walk on the ground. Old men will be despised, young men exalted;<sup>1)</sup> (232) rich men, made poor, will change their positions. Slaves will sit upon thrones, masters upon the ground. Trees will be stripped of fruit, and the earth of [its] products. Springs will dry up,<sup>2)</sup> and will not flow as was their wont; because of the evil doings of those men.

All these things will happen in the days of the sons of Hāshem. There will be signs in heaven, great things upon earth. The sun will grow dark, and the moon not give forth her light. Dust will come down from heaven. The stars will fall away as leaves; and, like grass, will be renewed in the heavens. The land of Babylon will shake and be moved twice each day. The sons of Ishmael [will] increase as the stars of heaven, and as sand upon the sea-shore. And if it were possible, . . . . .<sup>3)</sup> Then, the sons of Ishmael and the sons of Abraham will be divided, will kill and plunder each other, and destroy each other(?); because their end is at hand and the completion of their days. Hāshem will bear eight (233) sons: two with one name; two [mentioned] in the Law with three letters; another with seven; another with five. When all this will have come to pass, know that the kingdom of

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1) Read ܠܠܡܝܢܐ?

2) Reading, with C, ܠܠܡܝܢܐ.

3) Evidently something is omitted.

the sons of Hāshem is at an end. Then they will wake up as from a sleep; and will stand — one opposite the other. Everyone will say of himself, "I am the king". They are sent by God, who will incite one against the other, so that their end will be brought about by their own selves.

Because the earth will be destroyed and filled by them, God will give over the kingdom of the sons of Hāshem into the hands of Mahdi son of Faṭma. All kingdoms and tribes of the sons of Ishmael will hope for him. He will requite them their deeds. He will uproot for them the city of Babylon; will destroy their strong places, and raze their walls. Then will be fulfilled in regard to it [the words], "Woe to thee, Sen'ar; woe to thee, O City of the Chaldaeans! thou who wast raised up to the heavens, shalt be lowered to Sh'ōl". Babylon will become a waste place and . . . . . Everyone that passes will . . . . . and will say, "Where (234) is the glory of the mother of cities, subduer of kings . . . . .?". In the days of Mahdi son of Faṭma there will be peace upon earth, the like of which was never seen in the world. He will observe all the commands and laws of Mohammed his father, all the days of his life and of that of his sons after him; who from . . . . .<sup>1)</sup> the last Mohammed, in whom their rule will come to an end: *i. e.* five and twenty kings, sons of Mohammed. Then will come forth from the East men clothed in bloody garments. All their wisdom, their anger and their rage shall [vent itself] upon the sons of Ishmael. They will send [them] and drive them to the mountain of Ethrab. They will not have mercy upon the children of Ishmael, or show them grace; but will kill them at the edge of the sword; men and women, young people and children. (235) They will not have pity upon

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<sup>1)</sup> Evidently something is omitted: — "who are from the first to the last Mohammed", as in A and C.

pregnant women. They will dash their children upon the stones, because they are sent for the completion of time. Then [will come (C)] the sons of Yoḳṭan, who are the goats, and will go up to the land of Promise. These are the Ḳaṭrāyē; also the dreaded sons of the lion.<sup>1)</sup> Then [will come (C)] a lion which eats up everything and tramples upon everything, saying, I am Mahdi, who am sent [by God]<sup>2)</sup> as a messenger to turn the world to one faith and to the acknowledgement of the truth. There will be a great persecution, the like of which has never occurred. All his wrath and his anger will be upon the sons of Israel, and especially upon the people whom the Messiah has chosen for his name. He will pull down churches and monasteries and synagogues. He will raze the altar. There will be much blood in the world; and man will die of hunger and be killed with the edge of the sword. Many of the sons of the Church will be killed; but more of them will wander from the truth, and will follow after him to worship Shēḏīm, and to offer sacrifices to them.

One in every ten will turn [from the truth]. Then will men commence to say to the mountains, "fall upon us", and to the hills, "cover us". He who holds out to the end will live . . . . .;<sup>3)</sup> because of the wickedness (236) of men which will increase, he having perverted<sup>4)</sup> the way of God and not observed the commandments which were ordained by our Lord Jesus Christ who said, "Do not swear by the heavens, for they are the seat of God" . . . . .<sup>5)</sup> deny God and foreswear his Messiah, although they are not hard driven. They pray to and worship created things, more than their Creator to whom

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1) See above, p. 227, note 5.

2) See above, p. 227, note 6.

3) Does 𐤀 stand for 𐤁𐤁𐤁?

4) Read 𐤁𐤁𐤁.

5) [Thus the Ms. — *Ed.*]



are due praises and blessings for ever and ever, Amen. For this reason God has handed them over to all manner of tribulations, because of their evil deeds. They cheat in their own persons,<sup>1)</sup> take tribes, love their belly and delight in the false worship of this world more than the love of God. Therefore he gave them over to the chastening of the sons of Ishmael who are merciless and are sent over the whole world.

[When this shall happen], the end of days is at hand. Then will come from the East a king clothed in yellow, through whom will come quiet and much peace in the world. Churches will be rebuilt, monasteries renewed. He is the last. (237) Him the world awaits, that he come at the end of the kingdom of the children of Ishmael. Then the Romans will come and will rule over the whole earth for a week and a half. In their days will be great peace. It is the last peace of which our Lord spoke. Then the four winds of the heaven will move. Kingdoms will rise up, one against the other. Then will come the Turks, who are the likeness of the wolf. (238) The gates of the north will be opened: Gog and Magog will come forth, who are the likeness of dogs. They will do in the world all that is evil; eat up the reptiles of the earth; eat the human beings; kill the . . . . and give them to their maidservants to cook in order to eat them. They will not have pity either upon the old or upon sucklings. Then will come forth a noxious snake which is the son of destruction. He will creep upon the earth, and will swallow everything without pity. Then God will send the angel of anger; will collect them into one place; will destroy them in one hour, so that they burn and melt like wax before the fire. Then will appear Elijah, the man of fire, (239) and will kill the snake with the breath of his mouth. A cross will be raised up and will support the heavens.

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1) Read ~~consecr~~?

A king will give his soul to God. Then will death reign over everything. The first horn will sound; but all men will [still] sleep the sleep of death. The horn will sound a second time; and all those that sleep in the dust will awake, and will stand up, as if [awakening] from sleep. The third horn will sound. The angels will come down from heaven, will search out the chaff from the wheat. The wheat will be gathered into the stores of the house of God, the mansions of the sky. The chaff will be thrown into the fire which is never extinguished. On the day of the appearance of our Lord, and the end of his coming, all shall be filled with terror. The earth will be shaken upon its pillars. And in all the places where there is dust from the bodies of men, [this dust] will come . . . . to life. The command will cause everyone to hasten out of the dust. We ask and beg of our Lord Jesus Christ that at that hour (240) he, in his goodness, may find us worthy [to enjoy] the [spiritual] health with those whom he has selected to sing his praises; that he cease not — here in this life, and there in the life to come — to give us that grace which endeth not for ever and ever. Amen! Amen!

To end is the story of Mār Sargis, called B<sup>h</sup>irā, written by Mār Yabh the anchorite. Now I, Mār Yabh, composed it after Mār Sargis had died, having learned everything from his own mouth. When I had left, after his death, and had come to Bēth Armāyē and had with diligence made a search concerning him, I found that in nationality he was from Bēth Garmai, from the city called Shushan. In rank he had been a Kashshish (Bishop), and was very learned in the Scriptures. Wherever he happened to pass the night — in a church, a monastery, or in a house — he was accustomed to get up at night secretly and to break all the crosses, leaving one only standing. This was not because he hated the cross; for he did honor to the cross more than did all other men; but be-

cause he said, that one cross ought to be worshipped and not many [crosses]; that we should honor one [cross], because the Messiah was crucified upon one and not upon many. For this reason he was driven from the churches, and fled to the sons of Ishmael.

We write also the faith handed to the sons of Ishmael by Ka'b the scribe — his memory be cursed, Amen! He distorted and corrupted everything which Sargis had said. Originally (241) the sons of Ishmael were savage idolaters. Like unbridled horses they worshipped the image of a mouse, who was Iblis.

Names of these Shēdīm: Behram, God of the Persians; Ihad, God of the Persians; 'Udi of the Hittites. These are his children: Warmizd and Uchl<sup>b</sup>bhar(?) of the Ishmaelites; Bael of the Babylonians; Artemis, God of the Ephesians. These are the children of Armen.<sup>1)</sup>

In addition, story of the death of Mohammed. If one ask men in regard to his grave, they do not know; because they hold to the tradition handed down to them by Kālef, the Jewish scribe, saying: He told them that Mohammed was the Paraclete, who came [as] the Messiah. After him there arose no other prophet. He is the seal of the prophets. Because<sup>2)</sup> Mohammed was held in great esteem, Sargis B<sup>h</sup>irā prophesied in regard to him. [So did?] afterwards Kālef.<sup>3)</sup> When Mohammed died, he

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1) On the names of these gods the following may be said. ܡܠܚܝܢ = بهرم. For ܐܢܗܕܗ read ܐܢܗܝܢ Anāhēdh (or ܐܢܗܝܢ simply); and for ܡܠܚܝܢ read ܡܠܚܝܢ(?) = العزى (see citation in P.-S. col. 2829); for ܡܠܚܝܢ read ܡܠܚܝܢ. ܐܡܝܢ = Ahriman.

2) Reading ܡܠܚܝܢ.

3) Or, rather, "after him [came] Kālef".

was held in great esteem by all his people.<sup>1)</sup> They embalmed him in myrrh and aloës and placed him in a coffin. They brought him into a large house and closed the door of the house saying, "for three days he was going up to heaven, to the Messiah who sent him". After three days they all gathered together, and opened the door of the house, in order to see what had happened to the prophet of God. But they were unable to enter, because of the stench [coming from] his corpse. It is not necessary to disclose anything concerning his grave, because they do not know . . . .<sup>2)</sup> To this day they hold to the belief that Mohammed is the Paraclete. O Messiah! forgive all the confusion and error and ineptness which fill the writings of that scribe. In the grave of Mohammed<sup>3)</sup> was buried his non-prophecy.

In addition, account of the *Ḳurān* which Sargis gave them, in which they were to study. After the death of Sargis, Kaleb the scribe arose, and changed that which Sargis B<sup>h</sup>irā had written. He gave them another teaching, in which he introduced confusion and changes, chance and lots; laughable things, histories, circumcision, ablution, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, killing for killing; if another man does not take her, he can not take her again. He gave them this name [*Ḳurān*]; and a body of *Shēdim* who dwell [here] below upon the earth — whom they call Jinns.<sup>4)</sup> All that they profess is of the teaching of Kaleb. Sargis gave them the New [Testament], (242) Kaleb the Old. Sargis taught them [to use] the clapper; Kaleb the proclaimer,<sup>5)</sup> *i. e.* the raising of the voice. Sargis explained

1) Reading *ܡܫܝܚܐ*.

2) The word *ܡܫܝܚܐ*, which is added, is evidently a corruption. Of what?

3) I suggest the reading *ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ*.

4) The second *ܡܫܝܚܐ* is a dittography.

5) *i. e.*, the Muezzin.

and gave them [knowledge of] twenty-four<sup>1)</sup> kings; Kaleb, thirty-six saying: I see three kingdoms [coming] from the great sea (Mediterraneum?) which Maḥmad has mentioned, clothed in green garments:<sup>2)</sup> on one of them twelve horsemen.<sup>3)</sup> Firstly, that of the sons of Maḥmad; thirdly, of the sons of Faṭma, and in regard to all which they did, until a man arose whose name was Ḥajjaḥ son of Yūsuf, who was 'Amīr over the whole land of Bēth Armāyē, and who built there a large city whose name is . . . . .<sup>4)</sup>

### Arabic text.

(Ms Paris Arabe 215.)

بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس الاله الواحد\* نبتدى بعون  
الله تعالى وحسن توفيقه<sup>6</sup> بنسخ خبر\* بحيرة الراهب<sup>7</sup> مع الرجل  
الاعرابي<sup>8</sup> حكاة عن نفسه لمرهب\* الراهب بسلام<sup>9</sup> من الرب  
امين.

قال<sup>10</sup> انا مرهب الخاطي بينما<sup>11</sup> انا ادور\* في البرية<sup>12</sup> زَمَانَا

1) ~~صكك~~ is marked in the Ms as a mistake.

2) The Ms has the singular, as if the clause referred to Mohammed; which is unintelligible. Read ~~صكك~~ ~~مدك~~ ~~مدك~~.

3) The following is undoubtedly corrupt. I have tried to translate as the text reads.

4) On Ḥajjaḥ ibn Yūsuf see Ibn Dureid, ed. WÜSTENFELD, 186. The city meant is *Wāsīt*, on the river Tigris, between Baṣra and Kūfa.

5) D 7 ونكتب قصة D 6 بسم الله الحى الناطق D 5\*

وخبرة مع مرهب D 8 ورواية بطور سينما وما جرى له + and

زمانا D 12 اقامت D 11 مرهب الراهب + D 10 بسلاما D 9

كثيرا وفيما انا ذات يوم من الايام امشى في البرية وان قد ترايا

طويلا ان قد نظرت عن بعيد<sup>1</sup> ديرا عظيما قصدته فلما اتيت  
اليه فوجدت فيه راهبا شيخا يسمى بحيرة فلما رانى سلم على  
وفرح بى جدا وقال سبحان الله الذى اردانى وجهك فى هذا  
اليوم المبارك فان لى اليوم اربعون سنة لم يكن رايت وجه  
نصرانى غيرك\* والآن قد علمت وتحققت انه قد فنيت حياتى

لى ديرا من بعيد وانى قصدته وسرت نخوة الى ان وصلت اليه  
وانى فزعت بالباب برفق فخرج الى راهبا ففتح لى الباب وادا  
به بحيرا الراهب ولما رايتته سلمت عليه فقربنى اليه بسرورا  
وفرح وانه قال لى هام وادخل فلما دخلت قال لى من اين  
جيت فايتته الذى جابك وجمع بينى وبينك لان لى اليوم فى  
هذا الموضع اربعين سنة ما رايت نصرانيا الا انت والان فقد  
علمت ان حياتى قد فنيت وقرب وقت وفاتى وقلت له انا  
عند ذلك عرفنى يا ابن لاي حاجة اتيت الى هذا الموضع  
الشعت فقال لى دنوبى جلبت على هذا جميعه لانى رجلا من  
اهل انطاكية مضيت الى طور سينا لاصلى فيه واقمت بذلك  
الجبل اياما وصعدت فوق راس الجبل وصليت هناك وانى سمعت  
الاخوة الرهبان يقولون فلا بذلك من ياتى الى هذا الموضع  
المقدس ان يظهر له روبا من الله تعالى بعد ان تكون نبيته  
صادقة وسوف(?) شديدا واجتهاده رشيدا فلما قاموا الرهبان  
الى الصلات خرجت انا فى بعض الليالى من الدير ولم يعلم بى  
احدا من الرهبان فلما صرت على الجبل نظرة(!) لو فتى نورا  
عظيما مع ملايكة كثيرة ثم ابصرت

وتحير به كل العالمين اعلمك 2\* X commences here: بعد Ms 1)

وقربت وفاتي والله سبحانه اتا بك الى هاهنا لتعلم كل خبري  
لتخبر به المومنين وبما جرى\* لى بهذا المكان اعلمك يا اخي  
اننى رجل خاطى من اهل انطاكية فمضيت فى بعض الايام  
الى جبل طور سيناء لانتبرك<sup>1</sup> بانار القديسين واخذ بركة صلوات<sup>2</sup>  
الرهبان المقيمين هناك.<sup>3</sup> فلما وصلت اليهم صليت فى تلك  
المواضع المقدسة فقال لى بعض الشيوخ (fol. 154 a) الـرهبان\*  
يا اخي<sup>4</sup> قلت له لبيك ايها الراجل الصالح\* سوف يظهر الله  
لك شراً عظيماً<sup>5</sup> حين تخرج من هذا المكان فقلت له تكون  
ارادة الله تعالى تم انى قضيت ما على من الريادة وخرجت  
من ذلك المكان\* فلما صرت برا<sup>6</sup> الجبل نظرت نورا عظيماً  
<sup>4</sup> لم يرى بمثله\* وملايكة كثير<sup>7</sup> وابصرت صليبا عظيماً<sup>8</sup>  
يضى على الارض كلها<sup>9</sup> مثل<sup>10</sup> الشمس سبعة اضعاف وملاكا  
عظيماً<sup>11</sup> ففزعت لذلك فرعا\* شديدا فقال لى الملاك لا تخاف  
وابصرت اربعة<sup>12</sup> رووس ارواح تحرك\* بعضها لبعض<sup>13</sup> وابصرت  
<sup>14</sup> اسدا ابيض قد<sup>15</sup> اقبل من جوا<sup>16</sup> البرية. فاكل<sup>17</sup> الشرق والغرب  
والبرية والشام<sup>18</sup> وشرب ما البحر وانحدر الى الغرب\* وفى راسه

فلما صليت فى تلك X 3 2 صلوات X 2 1 لاستبارك X 1  
X 5 > X 4 الاماكن المقدسية قال لى بعض الاخوة الـرهبان  
X 10 > X 9 وضوء D 8 مقدسين X 7 برّ X 6 وتعاينه عيافا  
من الملايكة فايما فعند ذلك فزعت D 11\* ضوء + D ; كمثـل  
P com- 14 بعض X 13 ارواح يحرك X ; ارواح تحاول D 12\* فرعا  
والبحر\* 18 وشرب + D 17 داخل PX 16 وقد X 15 mences here  
تم انه بعد ذلك انحدر نحو الغرب

اتنا عشر قرنا<sup>1</sup> فقال لي الملاك<sup>2</sup> هذا ملك بني اسماعيل.<sup>3</sup>  
 ثم<sup>4</sup> ابصرت دابة سوداء<sup>5</sup> فاكلت<sup>6</sup> \* الشرق<sup>7</sup> والغرب<sup>8</sup> ولها  
 ثلاثة قرون. فقال لي الملاك هذا ملك بني هاشم ابن محمد  
 وابصرت تورا قد اقبل من البرية<sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> وله خمسة قرون فاكل \* اربع<sup>11</sup>  
 اطراف الدنيا واخذ<sup>12</sup> الى الموصل فقلت للملاك ما هذا فقالت<sup>13</sup>  
 لي<sup>14</sup> هذا ملك المهدي ابن علي وفاطمة \* وكما ان التور متضع  
 (fol. 154 b) هادي.<sup>15</sup> كذلك<sup>16</sup> يكون ملكه متضعا هاديا وكما  
 ان الاسد يكسر ما<sup>17</sup> وافاه كذلك يكون صاحب الاسد لا يقف  
 بين يديه احدا يقاتله<sup>18</sup> ولهذا المهدي تترجا<sup>19</sup> قبائل بني  
 اسماعيل وبه<sup>20</sup> يتم ملك العرب. وابصرت ايضا نمر<sup>21</sup> قد اقبل  
 من الغرب<sup>22</sup> يجري<sup>23</sup> لابس لباس من<sup>24</sup> الدم فقلت للملاك ما<sup>25</sup>  
 هذا فقال لي<sup>26</sup> ملك بني شفيان الذي يبئد بني اسماعيل  
 بالسيف. وابصرت ايضا تيس من<sup>27</sup> المعري قد اقبل من الغرب

1 D 3 D 2 D ) فقلت للملاك من هو هذا + قرن 1  
 وابصرت ايضا بعده دابة قد D \* 4 هاشم اسمعيل XP ; اسمعيل  
 7 D اكلت P 6 سودا P 5 اقبلت من فاحية الشام فاكلت  
 والبرية والشام والبحر ثم انها نزلت في باب وفي + D 8 الشرقي  
 وفي راسه قرون وانه اكل D \* 10 جهرا + DPX 9 راسها ثلاثة قرون  
 11 DPX 12 DP 13 DP فقال 14 X \* 15 X )  
 يقابله X 18 كلما D 17 هكذا PX ; (؟) فهكذا D 16 هاديا  
 المغرب PX 22 نمرًا PX 21 وفيه DPX 20 يترجي X ; يترجا P 19  
 هذا + DPX ; PX 26 من D 25 ) PX 24 يجري Ms ? 23  
 27 DPX )



وبلغ الى بيت المقدس فقلت للملاك من<sup>1</sup> هذا فقال لي هذا ملك القبطانيين<sup>2</sup> الذين<sup>3</sup> هم بنى يقطان.<sup>4</sup> وابصرت ايضا اسدا يوزير. قد اقبل من البرية بقوة عظيمة فاكل الكل<sup>5</sup> ووطى الكل ولم يقف بين يديه شى فقلت للملاك ما<sup>6</sup> هذا فقال لي<sup>7</sup> هذا<sup>7</sup> هو الذى<sup>7</sup> يسمى المهدى ابن عايشة في ذلك الزمان وفي ايامه تكون شدة<sup>8</sup> عظيمة لم يكن مثلها في العالم وايضا ابصرت<sup>9</sup> رجلا لابسا لباس اخضر فقلت للملاك ما<sup>10</sup> هذا فقال لي هذا ملك بنى اسماعيل الاخير الذى يكون<sup>11</sup> فيه فناء.\* وايضا ابصرت مركبة مزينة بكل حسن فقلت للملاك ما هذه<sup>12</sup> فقال لي هذا ملك الروم الذى (fol. 156 a) يملك على الارض كلها الى<sup>13</sup> اخر المملكات. وايضا ابصرت تنينا عظيما فتح<sup>14</sup> فاه وبلغ<sup>15</sup> الجميع بلا شفقة ولا رحمة ولا حنو.<sup>16</sup> فقلت للملاك من هذا<sup>17</sup> فقال لي هذا هو<sup>18</sup> المسيح الكذاب الذى يقال له المسيح<sup>19</sup> الدجال<sup>20</sup> الذى ياتى في اخر الازمان ويهلك كلما وافاه وايضا ابصرت الشيطان<sup>21</sup> خزاة الله تعالى\* وقد<sup>22</sup> تعالى<sup>23</sup> نحو السماء<sup>24</sup> واتى<sup>25</sup> مثل البرق وامتلا<sup>26</sup> حسدا وغیظا.<sup>27</sup> وايضا ابصرت رجلا قد اقبل من المشرق ولباس<sup>28</sup>

1 P ما 2 D القطاربين 3 PX الذى 4 PX يقضان 5 D  
X; انطرت P 9 شديدة + DPX 8 X > 7 من D 6 الجميع  
في DPX 13 هذا P 12 في فناؤه هم (!) D 11\* من D 10 نظرت  
X; حفية D 16 فابنلع X; وابتلع DP 15 ففتح PX 14  
وسياتى 20 D > 19 P > 18 X has lost an whole leaf here 17 حيفا X  
D > واتا P 25 السموات D 24 تعالا D 23 قد P 22 DP 21\*  
لباس P; بلباسا D 28 وغضب P 27 امثلا P 26

ايض حسن<sup>1</sup> فقلت للملاك ما هذا فقال لي هذا<sup>2</sup> ايليس<sup>3</sup>  
 النبي<sup>4</sup> الذى ياتى في تمام الايام<sup>5</sup> بين يدى المسيح الحقانى  
 وابصرت ايضا تلاته<sup>6</sup> ملايكة<sup>7</sup> لابسين<sup>8</sup> نورا متمنطقين  
 بالذهب.\* فقلت للملاك من هؤلاء<sup>9</sup> فقال لي هؤلاء جبرائيل  
 وميكائيل وواحد<sup>10</sup> من السرافيم.<sup>11</sup> ثم غابوا عني<sup>12</sup> الملاكين  
 وبقي الواحد الذى من السرافيم فقال لي ايها الانسان الفرع  
 يهدى<sup>14</sup> روعك فهديت واطمنيت وسكتت\* فقال لي † اتبعني  
<sup>15</sup> ولا تخاف فتبعته\*<sup>16</sup> وطلع بي معه الى\* السماء<sup>17</sup> كالنايم بالروح  
 لا بالجسد\*<sup>18</sup> ونظرت الى السماء<sup>19</sup> سموات الرب † ونورا\* عظيما  
 لا يتكلم<sup>20</sup> به وسمعت نغمات<sup>21</sup> الملايكة تسبح الى عتيق الايام\*  
 تسبيحا عظيما جدا لا يحاط به<sup>4</sup> ولا يدرك ولا يحصى اصوات

1 D هاب...? 2 P + هو 3 D ايليا 4 P > 5 D  
 سوحين 8\* D مقدسين + P 7 ثلاث DP 6 الجزء + P; الوقت  
 لابسين متمنطقين P; بنور متمنطقين بلهب نارا اتسعل(?)  
 11 D واخر 10 P هولاي الثلاثة 9 D لمناطق كالنار تلهب  
 للوقت غاب عني الملاكين ويقالو 12\* P السرافيم P; الصرافيم  
 احد من السرافيم فلما تطلعت اليه قال لي لا تدعربا هذا  
 14† D 13 D لما ابصرت لكن هذا روعى وطيب قلبي  
 الرعوب هذه روعك وفزعك وانى هديت واطمانيت ثم انه قال لي  
 وانه صعد بي الى 16\* D هكذا لما هدى روعى اخذنى 15\* P  
 ونظرت 18\* D وانا كمتل الناييم وليس بالجسد بل بالروح 17\* D  
 ;وسما(?) وسما والسموات الرب 19† D وابصرت ايضا نورا P; نورا  
 الملايكة وعتيق الايام 21\* D ينطق 20 P والسما السما P  
 عظيمة وعتيق الايام يسبحون P; جالسو تسبح له

(fol. 156 b) التحجيد<sup>1</sup> للثالوث الموحد الواحد\* الاب والابن والروح القدس<sup>2</sup> قاييلين قدوس قدوس الرب الضاباوت.\* وايضا ابصرت الدنيا تريد ان<sup>3</sup> تنحل وتبطل<sup>4</sup> والسما تنطوى<sup>5</sup> مثل<sup>6</sup> القرطاس وانحلت الارض وصارت خاوية وابصرت للمقدسين داهبين<sup>7</sup> الى الفردوس والخطاة<sup>8</sup> داهبين الى العذاب الموبد.\*<sup>10</sup> وادخلنى بالروح لا بالمجسد\* وابصرت تلاميذ ربنا<sup>11</sup> يسوع المسيح في<sup>12</sup> درجة عظيمه عالية لا اقدر اصفها ولا ينطق لسانى ببلوغ نعمتها.\* وابصرت يوحنا المعبدانى<sup>13</sup> عظيم الشأن اعلا<sup>14</sup> من<sup>15</sup> جميع الانبياء\* وابصرت ايضا<sup>16</sup> الشهدا دونهم مجتمعين كلهم على درجاتهم<sup>17</sup> وداودا النبى يسبح بتهليلة<sup>18</sup> و<sup>19</sup> وكل الانبياء\* يقررون بما كانوا يتلونونه في الدنيا بفرح وسرور وتهليل عظيم. وابصرت شجرة المعصية التى<sup>20</sup> هى شجرة<sup>21</sup> الموت. وابصرت شجرة التوبة التى هى شجرة الحياة وابصرت ايضا وادى عظيم<sup>2</sup> كبير جدا عظيم\* الغمق<sup>22</sup> فيه نار<sup>23</sup> لا تطفأ ودون<sup>24</sup> لا نيام وعذاب<sup>25</sup> لا يهدى وناس<sup>26</sup> اكثر

الذى للثالوث الواحد P; للثالوث الوحيد الموحد D\* 1  
 7 D !? كطى P 6 ايضا نظروا P 5 > P 4 > DP 3 > D 2\*  
 الحليم P; والعذاب D\* 9 وهم + P 8 داخلين P; متوجهين  
 الدرجة العالية الذى لا يقدر لسان P\* 12 سيدنا P 11 > P 10\*  
 ابن زكريا + P 13 يشرى ينطق بها ولا يصل الى بلوغ نعمتها  
 جميعهم P\* 15 اعلا اكبر P; اعظم D 14 عظيم الشأن >  
 بتهليلة D 18 اختلافات در' D 17 page is here missing in P  
 نار D 23 بالعمق D 22 يولد منها D 21 الذى D 20 وكلهم  
 (منهم) وفيه اناسا 26 وعدابا D 25 ودودا D 24

من رمل البحر يصيحون<sup>1</sup> واسنانهم تصر مثل الرعد العظيم  
وترتعد<sup>2</sup> مثل<sup>3</sup> الريح العاصف من. شدة العذاب فتتهرت<sup>4</sup>  
وبكيت وقلت ما يفيد<sup>5</sup> الانسان لو ربح<sup>6</sup> العالم كله<sup>7</sup> وخسر  
(fol. 157 a) نفسه. هذا كله<sup>8</sup> ابصرته بالروح لا بالجسم.<sup>9</sup>  
عند ذلك قال لي الملاك الموكل بي<sup>10</sup> اذهب الى موريقا  
<sup>11</sup> ملك الروم\* واكسر عصاك قدامه وقول له<sup>12</sup> هكذا ينكسر ملكك  
من بني اسماعيل وادهب الى كسرى<sup>13</sup> ملك الفرس واكسر<sup>14</sup> نصف  
عصاك بين يديه\* وقول له<sup>15</sup> هكذا ينكسر ملكك<sup>16</sup> من وحوش\*  
البرية.<sup>17</sup> فذهبت الى موريقا ملك الروم وصنعت<sup>18</sup> قدامه كما<sup>19</sup>  
امرنى الملاك فلم<sup>20</sup> يغضب عليّ<sup>21</sup> وقال\* لي تكون<sup>22</sup> مشية<sup>23</sup> الله  
في خلقه<sup>24</sup> وذهبت الى كسرى ملك الفرس<sup>25</sup> وصنعت قدامه<sup>26</sup>  
كما امرنى الملاك. فاجاب وقال لي من اين قلت<sup>27</sup> هذا واين  
رايت هذه<sup>28</sup> الرويا فقلت له في طور سيناء موضع<sup>29</sup> اخذ موسى  
الثوراة<sup>30</sup> [من]<sup>31</sup> الله. فقال لي اى شى<sup>32</sup> ابصرت هناك فقلت

وانى D 4 شبه D 3 وترعد D 2 (?) ويغجون + D 1  
7 D ? ربح V; بارجح D 6 لو اذه افتنا (افتاد ?) D 5 تتهدت (!)  
D 11\* X sets in again here 10 بالجسد D 9 جبيعه D 8 باسره  
عصاك النصف منها قدامه X 14\* كرسى (!) X 13 > D 12 الملك  
> D 17 وهكذا اقامت لساعنى + X 16 قدام وحش D 15\*  
يصعب عليه ذلك دل انه D 19\* ما X 18 P (fol. 56) sets in again  
خليقته PX 23 ارادة D 22 يكون PX 21 عليه PX 20 قال  
هذا PX 27 لك + D 26 > PX 25 الروم P; القدس D 24  
شيا D 31 DPX 30 الثوريه P 29 في الموضع الدي PX; موضعا

له ابصرت حمار الوحش قد طلع واخذ<sup>1</sup> عنزا<sup>2</sup> وتوطاه<sup>3</sup> برجليه  
 وخبرته باخباري<sup>4</sup> فلما سمع<sup>5</sup> هذا انتهد<sup>6</sup> وقال\* اذهب بسلام  
 واني خرجت من عنده ودخلت<sup>7</sup> بلاد الايقار وصرت<sup>8</sup> انادي  
 فيهم ان<sup>9</sup> لا يسجدوا لصلبان كثيرة ولكن لصليب<sup>10</sup> واحد<sup>11</sup>  
<sup>12</sup> ولا يرسموا في<sup>13</sup> كنايسهم صلبان كثيرة ولكن صليب<sup>14</sup> واحد<sup>11</sup>\*  
 في كل كنيسة ويكون سجودكم<sup>15</sup> له وقلوبكم<sup>16</sup> الى صليب ربنا  
 يسوع المسيح المخلص الذي به تخلص<sup>17</sup> العالم\* (fol. 157 b)  
 كما ابصرت انا في طور سينا صليباً<sup>18</sup> واحدا قائما في الدنيا  
 كلها فلما سمعوا اساقفة الناحية ذلك مني<sup>18</sup> طردوني [من]<sup>19</sup>  
 بلادهم. فوقعت في هذه البرية نحو بني اسماعيل<sup>20</sup> فانست  
 اليهم<sup>21</sup> وانسوا الى<sup>22</sup> وحادثوني وحادثتهم فاريت الى\* هذا الدير  
 وعمرت<sup>24</sup> والصقت به بئر ما<sup>25</sup> عدبة طابة وصارت العرب تجي  
 وتستقي منه†\* ويجلسون عندي في كل الاوقات ويأمنون<sup>26</sup> بي

برجليه X; برجل واخبرته D 3 عنزة X; عنز P 2 واخذ X 1  
 هذا D 5. \* جميع ما رايتة + D; جميع اخباري PX 4 وخبره  
 الى + DPX 8 تنهد PX 6 الكلام تنهد ثم قال  
 واحدا D 11 بصليب A; لصليبا DPX 10 بان D 9 واخذت  
 ثابتة D 16\* سجودهم D 15 صليباً D 14 على D 13 > PX 12\*  
 (D 18) خلاص PX 17 في محبة صليب سيدنا مخلص العالم  
 بي D 22 بهم D 21 From here a page missing in X 20 DPX 19  
 وحادثوني وحادثتهم واويت P; وحادثوني وحادثتهم فانيت الى D 23\*  
 وحفرت فيه هذا البئر حصل فيه ماء كثيرا عدبا D 24\* الى  
 عذب P 25† وانتفع به الاعراب وصاروا يجوا اليه ويستقوا منه  
 واستأنسوا D 26 طيب وصارا العرب يجو يستقوا منه

وانست<sup>1</sup> بهم<sup>2</sup> ويفضون حوايجي واقضى حوايجهم وكل شى  
 كنت امرهم به واشير به عليهم يمتثلونه<sup>3</sup> ولا يخالفون<sup>4</sup> ذلك<sup>5</sup>  
<sup>6</sup>فاخذت اقول لهم\* انكم ستملكون ملكا عظيما قويا سبع<sup>7</sup>  
 سوابيع وتنزلون هذه البرية كلها وتسمعونها قبله ويكون<sup>8</sup>  
 لكم دولة عظيمة متسعة<sup>9</sup> جدا واخذت<sup>10</sup> اخبرهم بخبر ابوم  
 اسماعيل ووعد الله لابراهيم فيه باظهار الملك والسلطان  
 وكثرة النسل وبخبر امه هاجر وكيف لقيها<sup>11</sup> الملاك<sup>12</sup> في الطريق\*  
 ثلاثة<sup>13</sup> مرات<sup>14</sup> وقال لها\* لا تحزنى سيكون من ولدك شعب<sup>15</sup>  
 عظيم يشتد به ظهرك ويكون له<sup>16</sup> ملك كبير\* تم خبرتهم<sup>17</sup>  
 بما قرآته من قول<sup>5</sup> الشعيا النبي ان يقول ان عدد ملك<sup>18</sup>  
 بنى قيدر<sup>19</sup> عدد سنة الاخر<sup>20</sup> وقد ذهب كرامتهم بعد ذلك  
 وبما قرآته من قول بلعام ان يقول تملك<sup>21</sup> بنى اسماعيل سبع  
 سوابيع كبار\* (fol. 158 a) منيعة. وخبرته بما قرآته من قول  
 دانيال النبي ان يقول سيأتى شعب اسماعيل ويقف<sup>22</sup> في موضع  
 القدس وخبرته<sup>23</sup> بما<sup>24</sup> قرآته من<sup>25</sup> قول متادايوس ان يقول عن

يخالفونه D 4 فيه D 3 اليهم P 2 واستانست D 1  
 سبعة P 7 واننى ابتديت بذلك بقولى لهم D 6\* > D 5 يخالفوا P  
 > D 12\* لقاهما D 11 ان + D 10 منيعة DP 9 وتكون P 8  
 ملكا كبيرا D 16\* شعبا D 15 مرار وقوله لها D 14\* ثلاثة P 13  
 يكون عدد كثير لا يحصى عددهم P 19\* > P 18 اخبرتهم P 17  
 وبعد ذلك تذهب كرامتهم واخبرتهم ايضا بما قرآته من  
 D 20 قول بلعام ان يقول سيملك بنو اسماعيل سبعة س' ك'  
 قد + P 24 واخبرتهم P 23 ويفق P 22 سيملك D 21 الاخير  
 25 X sets in again here

ملك بنى اسماعيل وانتشارهم في الارض<sup>1</sup> وتمكينهم<sup>2</sup> منها<sup>3</sup>  
وانهم<sup>4</sup> لا يقف بين ايديهم احد<sup>5</sup> ويكون لهم دولة قوية<sup>6</sup>  
شديدة الناس<sup>7</sup> وسيقيم الله رجل منهم كبير الحال وعدة  
ملوك يخرجون من عصبه<sup>8</sup> ويكترون<sup>9</sup> على الارض حدا<sup>10</sup>  
ويسمى<sup>11</sup> اسمه<sup>12</sup> محمد ويحمد\* ويكون ذكره في اقطار الارض. وفي  
بعض الايام كنت واقف<sup>13</sup> على البير استقى الماء<sup>14</sup> يعد حديثي<sup>15</sup>  
معهم<sup>16</sup> بثلاثة<sup>17</sup> سوابيع<sup>18</sup> من الايام حتى<sup>19</sup> ابصرتهم<sup>20</sup> مقبلين  
الي\* ومعهم حدث شاب<sup>21</sup> فصيح شهيم شليط<sup>22</sup> <sup>23</sup>مترااس  
عاقلا ادبيا فهما يامر\* الجمالين<sup>24</sup> وينهاهم<sup>25</sup> وكذلك<sup>26</sup> التجار  
<sup>27</sup>يقبلون منه\*. فقلت في سرى<sup>28</sup> واستخرت<sup>29</sup> ربي<sup>30</sup> وحرزت

X 5 وانه X 4 فيها D 3 وتمكنهم D 2 كلها + D 1  
وملن + 9 عصبا P 8 الباس DX 7 عظيمة D 6 احدا  
D 12\* ويكون PX; ويسما D 11 جدا X; (D 10 (للارض)  
محرمًا سين وتفسيره X; سرجاس (?) الذي تفسيره احمد ومحمد  
(D 16 حدمتي PX 15 ماء D 14 قايم PX 13 احمد ومحمد  
D 19 واذا اقبل الى جماعة منهم PX 18\* بثلت X; ثلاثة D 17  
D 23\* سليط PX 22 حسن + D 21 واداهم + D 20 حين  
مريسو(?) ورايته صافلا(?) ادبيا فهما ذو دهن حاطر وله فهما  
متزين ورايته عاقلا ادبيا فهما دكيا يامر PX; كبيرا يصيرا بامر  
D 26 وبنهاهم(?) P 25 اهل قبيلته PX; المبالين(?) D 24  
والاعراب + D; منه P; يقبلون اليه ويسمعون منه X 27\* ورايت  
D 30\* واستبحرت P; واستخره DX 29 نفسى D 28 يسترشدونه  
وجال فيه فكرى وحققت فيه ضنى ان ذلك الرواية له وانى حبرت  
عليه وتقدمت الى بين يديه وتميرته(?) حيدا فوجدته موافق لما  
ثم حررت فكرى X; حررت فكرى P; رايته وقلت في نفسى

عليه\* وقلت ينبغي يكون<sup>1</sup> هذا الرجل<sup>2</sup> يتروس<sup>3</sup> على<sup>4</sup> بنى  
اسماعيل<sup>5</sup> ويكون ملكا عليهم ويكون<sup>6</sup> للدولة<sup>7</sup> لانه شاب<sup>8</sup>  
نسبته<sup>9</sup> الرياسة فان له<sup>10</sup> حصة وصولة\*.

فقلت يا فتى ما اسمك فقال<sup>11</sup> محمد. فقلت له انت<sup>12</sup>  
صاحب الملك والسلطان ولك تكون الدولة واسمك<sup>13</sup> هو المذكور  
اليك<sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup> تكون القبائل والشعوب\* ويكون اسمك يذكر في<sup>16</sup> اقطار  
الارض\* وخبرك ينتشر<sup>17</sup> (fol. 158 b) في جميع<sup>18</sup> الدنيا ويرى كل  
من يذكر اسمك وعظمه<sup>19</sup> يكون<sup>20</sup> قد قرب قربانا لله نقيا  
زكيا. ثم اشرت عليه بالانصراف<sup>21</sup> مع اصحابه والرجوع الى  
<sup>22</sup> بعد ذلك\* وحده حتى اعرفه<sup>23</sup> واوقفه على كلما<sup>24</sup> يريد<sup>25</sup> يد  
ان<sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup> يعمله. فانتصرت<sup>28</sup> الغلام مع<sup>29</sup> الاعراب الدين كانوا معه  
وهم حزاناء<sup>30</sup> وقد امتلوا عليه حسدا.<sup>31</sup> <sup>32</sup> تم رجع\* الى بعد

هو بالحقيقة + D 2 ان يكون ينبغي X; ان يكون P; ان D 1  
DP 7 وتكون PX 6 اسماعيل D 5 جميع + X 4 يترايس D 3  
X; وله حزالة وصولة\* P 10 يشبه DPX 9 شابا X 8 الدولة له  
ابشر فانت D 12 اسمي + D; لي + PX 11 وله حزالة وصوله  
تخرج الشعوب D\* 15 واليه PX; ومنك D 14 لان اسمك D 13  
D 20 ويعظمه DPX 19 كل PX 18 تنتشر P 17 الاقطار PX\* 16  
وقلت له امضى مع D; بالانصراف P 21 اذه يقرب PX; اذه  
بعد مصيهم وحدك D; فيما بعد وحده PX\* 22 اصحابك بالرجوع  
> DPX 26 تريد D 25 > X; ما P 24 اعرفك واقفك D 23  
وانصرف X 28 تعمله وانصرف الغلام لوقته وانصرفت معه D\* 27  
D 32\* وغيطا + D 31 القلوب + D 30 وانصرف معه PX 29  
واما هو فرجع PX; تم انه رجع



ثلاثة<sup>1</sup> ايام وهو قلقا<sup>2</sup> معلق<sup>3</sup> القلب بما<sup>4</sup> خبرته به فجلس  
عندى وحدته وحدثنى<sup>5</sup> وسالنى واستقصا منى واختبر واعتبر<sup>6</sup>  
فقال لى جعلت فداك<sup>7</sup> انى قد سمعت من شيوخا<sup>8</sup> حديثا\*  
لا<sup>9</sup> ادرى<sup>10</sup> هو حق\* ام لا. فقلت له<sup>11</sup> اى حديث\* سمعت.<sup>12</sup>  
فقال لى ان قبائل العرب<sup>13</sup> ملكوا الشام وقد<sup>14</sup> استعبدوا الخلق  
وصاروا فى قبضتهم ستين سنه حتى قام عليهم<sup>14</sup> رجل من  
بنى اسرائيل يقال له جدعون القاضى<sup>15</sup> فحاربهم وهزمهم<sup>16</sup>  
وانتصر عليهم<sup>17</sup> ولم يفلت منهم<sup>18</sup> الا بعضهم ورجع\* الى هدا  
الموضع فاستانس<sup>19</sup> اليه تسعة ايجاد من العرب وسكنوا بالشام  
ولم يرجعوا الى هده الغايه واخاف<sup>20</sup> ان يكون هده المرة ايضا  
تصير مثل تلك الاولى<sup>21</sup>\* فانصرف انا واحكاىي مخسرين فاجبت  
وقلت له لا لعبى ما تنصرف مخسرا بل تغلب وتنتصر وتملك  
سبع<sup>22</sup> سوايع مسبعة<sup>23</sup> وتزيل (fol. 159 a) اهل بيتك وجميع<sup>24</sup>

DX 5 قد + D 4 معلق D 3 قلق PX 2 ثلثة P 1  
بما (ما P) كلمته به ففرح (فقال) + PX; انه (قال) + D 6 وحدثته  
ثم سالنى وقال لى اريد اسالك عن كلاما اخر سمعته من PX\* 7  
هو حقا X; هل هو بحق D 10 ليس D 9 الشيوخ D 8 شيوخ  
(PX 14 كانوا قد + D 13 سمعت D 12 ما هو الذى PX\* 11  
ولا نجا منهم الا القليل اليسير D\* 17 وهربهم X 16 القاىي X 15  
من D\* 20 واستامن DPX 19 منه PX 18 والنزور (?) الحقيقير ورجعوا  
PX 21 ايضا (P) يكون (PX); هده النوبه الاخرى تضير تلك تكون  
لان ليس هده الدوله الاول + D; منيعة PX 23 سبعة PX 22 الاوله  
له لان هده برويا وخطاب رايات طهرت لى من اهلك امرنى  
الملاك الذى موكل بى من قبل الله عز وجل بانى امضى

قومك عن سجودهم للاصنام\* الى السجود لله تعالى وحده.\*  
فقال لي فانت<sup>3</sup> لاي رب<sup>4</sup> تعبد. فقلت له لله الازلي خالق  
 السموات<sup>5</sup> والارض وما بينهما. فقال لي ومن هو هذا حتى  
 نعرفه<sup>6</sup> ونعرف به.\* فقلت له الله الازلي الحي الذي لا يموت  
 التالوت الواحد القدوس الاب والابن والروح القدس الاله

واعرف بك ملك الروم وملك الفرس بانك تغلبهم وقد عرفهم  
 بهذه الامور جميعها وانت قريبا سريع وباركت عليه وقلت  
 له الرب يعظم اسمك في الارض كلها ويكثر زرعك ويحل في بيتك  
 من بعدك ويكون كلامك يعلوا الكلد ويدك تحوزهم واعلم يا  
 ابني انك ستملك ملك عظيمًا وندكر دكرا كبيرا وتنفتح بين  
 يديك المدن والبلاد والقرى ويخرج من زرعك اثني عشر ملكا  
 ويعظم ملكهم في الدنيا كلها ويملكون مملكات كثيرة ويكبعون  
 بلدانا عظيمة ومدنا منيعة ويكون لهم سلطانا عظيما وليس  
 مملكة تقدر ان تقف بين ايديهم ويعظمون اسمك في الدنيا  
 كلها كما يعظم اسم الاله ويكون مشتركا باسمه(?) ادا دكر  
 ذكرت معه فقال لي من اين علمت هذا الذي قد قلته لي  
 فتبينت له وعرفته انه من روبا رايتها لك بطور سينا وخبرته  
 بجميع ما رايتته بيان مبين فقال لي فمن اتا بك الى هذا  
 الموضع فقلت له سيدى يسوع المسيح الذي يغنى لخبرك(?)  
 واعرفك انك تكون ملكا على الارض جميعها واربعة وعشرون  
 ملك يملكون من بعدك وكثيرا منهم يقتلون وترد اهل منك  
 وكل PX<sup>24</sup>

D\* 2 السجود للاصنام وتنقلهم PX; السجود للاصنام D\* 1  
 D\* 6 السما P 5 ربا D 4 انت PX 3 الواحد

<sup>1</sup> الواحد الصابوت\* الخالق الناطق بكلمته للكل الحى الحىى  
 بروحه [ال]تالوت<sup>2</sup> فى اقاينيه واحد<sup>3</sup> فى جوهره. فقال لى هذا<sup>4</sup>  
<sup>4</sup>تقليد عظيم\*<sup>5</sup> حكيم ما تضبطه<sup>6</sup> عقول قومي<sup>7</sup> ولا تفهمه  
 اريد ان تقصر لى على مختصر الامانة\*<sup>8</sup> وفضل الامانة\* فقلت له  
 القصد المعبود كلمة الله الخالقه<sup>9</sup> الازلية الواحد\* فى الجوهر  
 مع الاب وروح القدس الجدا<sup>10</sup> الذى نزل من السماء<sup>11</sup> وتجسد  
 من روح القدس ومن مريم العذرى وعمل الايات وصعد الى  
 السموات<sup>12</sup> وباتى ايضا<sup>13</sup> لبيدين الحيا والاموات الذى ليس  
 لملكه انقضا<sup>14</sup> ولا زوال\* فقال لى ان بسرت<sup>15</sup> انا بهذه الكلمة  
 والروح يتم لى. فقلت له<sup>16</sup> وكيف لا يتم\* وقد بشر بهذا  
 من كان قبلك من الانبيا الدين<sup>17</sup> لا يشك فيهم<sup>18</sup> ولا يرتاب  
<sup>19</sup> فى قولهم\* فتم امرهم<sup>20</sup> وكبر شانهم وشكر فعلهم وضح قولهم  
 (fol. 159 b) بتمام<sup>21</sup> فعل المسيح\* فى الارض وانت تعصح<sup>22</sup> حى

1\* DX الواحد الصابوت P واحد الصباروت 2 PX 3 X  
 الواحد 4\* D acc. 5 P } from here until فعلهم in line 12  
 ولا تفهموه واريده منك ان تختصر على فى شرح 7\* D يضبطه 6 X  
 ولا تفهمه ولكن اريد ان تقتصر على مقتصر الامانة X; الايمان  
 المسيح المتجسد 9\* ومضة (?) الدبانة X; وفضل اليمانة (?) 8\* D  
 من حيث + D 11 الجدا DX 10 الاله الحكمو (?) بالمعود المتفق  
 14\* X ) تجسده + D 13 اعلى السموات D 12 لا يفارق السما  
 وكيف لا يتم لك X; فكيف انتم (!) لك D 16\* بشرت DX 15  
 قولهم X 20 ) لقولهم D 19\* فى قولهم X 18 الذى X 17  
 وصحح P 22 ما فعله سيدنا المسيح PX 21\*

المسيح واياته<sup>1</sup> وقيامته<sup>2</sup> وطلوعه الى السماء<sup>3</sup> فيكون<sup>4</sup> قولك<sup>5</sup>  
مصدقاً<sup>6</sup> عند الامم والشعوب ما خلا اليهود الملاحين فانهم  
يكذبون قايلين<sup>7</sup> انه<sup>8</sup> لم يات<sup>9</sup> بعد لان<sup>10</sup> الدي اتى<sup>11</sup> ببدع  
فصلبناه\* وقتلناه وابدناه وهم في هذا كاذبون ومن مكرهم انهم  
اعتدوا<sup>12</sup> لكل<sup>13</sup> الامم وما<sup>14</sup> اتفق اثنين<sup>15</sup> منهم على رجل الا  
دبرا<sup>16</sup> في قتله. <sup>17</sup> فعند ذلك\* كثر غضبه على اليهود وساعدني  
على بغضهم ومقتهم ولعنهم. ثم قال لي ان تم لي<sup>18</sup> هذا الامر  
يا راهب مبارك فتمنا<sup>19</sup> على كلما<sup>20</sup> شديته<sup>21</sup> فاني<sup>22</sup> ابلغك  
<sup>23</sup> شانك وماملوك في الدنيا.\* فقلت له ما<sup>24</sup> اريد منك شيء<sup>25</sup>  
<sup>26</sup> من غرض الدنيا ولا ما قل ولا ماجل ولا مناي\* الا العناية  
بامر النصارى في ايام مملكتك<sup>27</sup> وملك قومك<sup>28</sup> لانها اعضا ضعفا\*  
وقد امروا<sup>29</sup> بالتواضع والصبر الشديد<sup>30</sup> وفيهم زهبان<sup>31</sup> مساكين  
فقرا<sup>32</sup> وقد<sup>33</sup> زهدوا في هذه الدنيا وبغضوها ما<sup>34</sup> فيها من

السموات<sup>3</sup> D من بين الاموات + D<sup>2</sup> وفعله الايات<sup>1</sup> D<sup>1</sup>  
حققاً بما قد سبق بدنيا عبانا + D<sup>6</sup> لك + D<sup>5</sup> ليكون PX<sup>4</sup>  
D<sup>11\*</sup> لا + X<sup>10</sup> ياتى D<sup>9</sup> ان المسيح PX<sup>8</sup> قايلون P<sup>7</sup> بيانا  
على PX<sup>13</sup> اعتدروا D<sup>12</sup> بعد فص' X; بدع فص' P; نحن صلبناه  
PX<sup>17\*</sup> ذكروا D<sup>16</sup> اثنان PX; اثنين (?) D<sup>15</sup> ما D<sup>14</sup> كل  
بكلمنا PX<sup>20</sup> فاتمنا PX<sup>19</sup> > D<sup>18</sup> فعند ما قلت له هكذا  
اباه فقل لي ما شيت D<sup>23\*</sup> فاننى X<sup>22</sup> شيته X; تشتهيه D<sup>21</sup>  
ملكك PX<sup>27</sup> > D<sup>26\*</sup> شيا D<sup>25</sup> لم D<sup>24</sup> فاني فاعله و???مه  
D<sup>29</sup> لان النصارى قوما ضعفا اعفا PX; فانها ضعفا اعفاء D<sup>28\*</sup>  
فقرا حناجين D<sup>32</sup> كثير + D<sup>31</sup> الشدايد PX<sup>30</sup> امرهم رهم  
وما DPX<sup>34</sup> قد PX<sup>33</sup> فقرا PX<sup>32</sup>

خيراتها<sup>1</sup> ونعيمها<sup>2</sup> وتخلوا عنها وهربوا الى السحارى والبرارى  
وانفردوا لنفوسهم<sup>3</sup> وطلب<sup>4</sup> خالقهم<sup>5</sup> فتكمل عنهم\*<sup>6</sup> الادا<sup>7</sup>  
والمودية\* والعنت<sup>8</sup> والتعدا من احسابك<sup>9</sup> على جباعتهم وتامر  
ان لا يوخذ منهم خراج ولا جزية لانهم قد بغضوا<sup>10</sup> الدنيا  
(fol. 160 a) ولم يلتفتوا على<sup>11</sup> نساء ولا على<sup>12</sup> اولاد ولا على<sup>12</sup>  
مال ولم يلبسوا<sup>13</sup> شيئا منها\* البتة. وايضا اريد منك ان  
تامر ان لا يلحق احدا<sup>15</sup> من النصارى ظلم<sup>16</sup> ولا جور فانك  
ان خملت عنهم هدا<sup>17</sup> رجوت ان<sup>18</sup> يمدا لله في<sup>19</sup> ملكك\*  
ويديم سلطانك.

نعيمها<sup>2</sup> D حيوانها(!) PX; الحيرات ورفضوا جميع<sup>1</sup> D  
من الفضل تحمل (اتحمل X) PX\*<sup>5</sup> في طلب PX<sup>4</sup> لانفسهم X<sup>3</sup>  
+ D<sup>9</sup> والعبت PX<sup>8</sup> والبرزايا P<sup>7</sup> الادوات والموونه D\*<sup>6</sup> عنهم  
يلتفتوا الى PX<sup>13</sup> الى PX<sup>12</sup> الى X<sup>11</sup> ابغضوا X<sup>10</sup> الجميع  
جميعه + D<sup>17</sup> ولا ضم + D<sup>16</sup> احد D<sup>15</sup> اشياء من ذلك D\*<sup>14</sup>  
عمرk وينبث + D<sup>19</sup> الله يزيد في ايام مملكتك PX\*<sup>18</sup>

[To be continued.]

## A Christian Bahira legend.

By *Richard Gottheil*.<sup>1)</sup>

### Conclusion of the Arabic text.

فقال لي على انا ان امر قومي ان لا يوحد من راهب<sup>2</sup>  
خارج ويجل<sup>3</sup> وتقضا<sup>4</sup> حوائجه ويعني<sup>5</sup> باحواله<sup>6</sup> وامرهم في امر  
جماعة\* النصرى ان<sup>7</sup> لا يتعدا<sup>8</sup> عليهم<sup>9</sup> ولا يغير عليهم  
في رسومهم شيئا\* وتعمر كنائسهم وترفع<sup>10</sup> رسايهم<sup>11</sup> ويقدموا  
وينصفوا\* ظلم احدا منهم كنت خصمه<sup>12 13</sup> يوم القيامة.\* فقلت له  
احسن الله جزاك وبارك لك فيما اعطاك<sup>14</sup> فقد قلت<sup>15</sup> ما  
انت من اهله. فقال لي<sup>16</sup> قد بقي على شدة كيف\* تقبلني

1 See Vol. XIII, p. 189 ff.; Vol. XIV, p. 203 ff. 2 DPX +  
ويعنا D 5 وتقضى DX 4 وان يكون مسجل PX 3 جزيّة ولا  
7 D ويهتم بامره واعظم الوصيه على جماعة D 6\* ويعتنا PX  
ولا يغرض اليهم بمكررة ولا تغير D 9\* احدا DP + 8 بان  
في شي من رسومهم PX ; رسومهم. ثم يبقوا اعلى ما جرت به العادة  
ولا ننكد احدا عليهم D 11\* ويرفع PX ; وترفع D 10 (احدا X)  
PX 15 عطاك P 14 > PX 13\* حصية P 12 واقول لقومي ان من  
انى مفتكر في حالى ومكابرا في قضية امرى وما اعرف D 16\* الى +  
قد بقا شيئا اخر اريد اقله لك عن ما PX ; يملكون (?) الى وكيف  
قلت لي كيف

اهلى<sup>1</sup> وبين قومي وتقبلنى<sup>2</sup> عليهم ملكا\* وانا عندكم<sup>3</sup> فقيرا  
فقيرا لانى يتيم عند<sup>4</sup> عمى ابى طالب مقيم.<sup>4</sup> فقلت له  
ادعى النبوة<sup>5</sup> اولاً<sup>5</sup> يدياً<sup>6</sup> فهى<sup>7</sup> تفتح لك الباب وتدخل الدار  
فاذا انت دخلت كنت الحكير.<sup>8</sup> فهو اصلح لك وارشد واصوب  
لانه قد تنبا انبياء فقرا حقرا<sup>9</sup> ادنيا<sup>10</sup> مثل داود النبي الذى  
لم يكن فى اخوته ادنى<sup>11</sup> مده [ولا]<sup>12</sup> احقر<sup>13</sup> ولا افقر وقيل\* ولم  
يكذب ولم<sup>14</sup> يخالف وكذلك\* انت ليس<sup>15</sup> احدا يكذبك ولا  
يخالفك\* ادا قلت انى رسول الله<sup>16</sup> اليكم. فقال لى كيف  
يصدقونى وانا لا كتابا بيدى.\* فقلت له انا اعلمك فى  
الليل<sup>18</sup> وتعرفهم انت\* فى النهار وتقول لهم ان<sup>19</sup> جبرائيل يجبرنى  
وانا اعرفك<sup>20</sup> بها يعلمنى.\* وقلت له<sup>21</sup> على ان اكتب لك على  
يدك\* ما تحتاج اليه<sup>22</sup> واقول لك\* كل مسألة<sup>23</sup> يسالونك<sup>24</sup> عنهم  
من معقول وغيره والقفك العلم والمسائل ان شئت من الكتب

ثم D 2 بين قبيلتى وقومى ان اكون عليهم ملكا PX 1\*  
او لا D 5 > PX 4 بعين النقص + D 3 انهم يقيمونى  
P 9 فيما تريد + D; الحكير PX 8 وهى X 7 بديا PX 6  
ولا D 13\* DP 12 ادناء D 11 بى D 10 حقيقير D; حقرة  
D 14\* وقيل نبوته لم يكذب PX; اصغر وقيلوه ولم يكذبوه  
ثم احد يخالفو امرك ولا يكذبك D 15\* يخالفوه احد كذلك  
DPX 17\* ارسلت + DX 16 يكذبك احدا ولا يخالف امرك PX  
> PX 19 ما تعرفهم انت X; ما تعرفهم P 18\* لا اعرف كتابا  
لا نعمل D 21\* يعلمنى X; يعمل به D 20\* ملاك الله + D  
وافيدك PX; والقفك D 22\* وانا امرك بها PX; ثم على امرك بجميع  
يسالونك عنها PX 24 مسألة D 23

وان شيت من المعقول ان شا الله تعالى. فقال لي ابتدى  
واكتب لي شيء اقله وانعلمه.

فكتبته <sup>1</sup> له بسم اللاهوت <sup>2</sup> الرحمن الرحيم اعنى بذلك  
الثالوث الموحد <sup>3</sup> القدوس لان <sup>4</sup> الاله هو الاب والنور\* الارزى  
والرحمن هو الابن الذى رحم <sup>5</sup> الشعوب واستراهم بدمه المقدس <sup>6</sup>  
والرحيم هو الروح <sup>7</sup> القدس الذى سبغت رحمته على الكل  
وسكن في كل <sup>8</sup> المومنين وعلمته اشياء تقربه <sup>9</sup> الى الايمان  
العحيح. وكتبته له صورة محكمة مفصلة <sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup> كما لك عزيز محتجب.\*  
وكتبته له فيما كتبت انا <sup>12</sup> انزلناه في ليلة القدر وما ادراك  
ما ليلة القدر ليلة القدر اخير من الف شهر تنزل <sup>13</sup> الملائكة  
والروح فيها <sup>14</sup> بادن ربهم [من] <sup>15</sup> كل <sup>14</sup> امر <sup>14</sup> (fol. 161a) سلام  
هى حتى مطلع <sup>16</sup> النجر اعنى بذلك الليلة المقدسة الجليلة <sup>17</sup>  
التي نزلت فيها الملائكة وبشرت الرعاة بميلاد السيد المخلص <sup>18</sup>  
في بيت لحم. <sup>19</sup> وكتبته له ايضا صبغة الله <sup>20</sup> المقدسة <sup>21</sup> التي  
اصطبغها السيد <sup>22</sup> من يوحنا الصابغ في نهر الاردن. وكتبته  
له ايضا مريم ابنة يواقيم التي احصنت فرجها فنفتحنها فيه

الاب هو اللاهوت PX 4\* الواحد PX 3 الله D 2 فقلت 1  
PX 8 روح D 7 ) DPX 6 رحم به كافة الشعوب PX 5 نور  
اما D 12 كاملة ثامة D 11\* ) PX 10 تقرب X 9 جميع  
العظيمة D 17 يطلع PX 16 ) D 15 ان نزلت D 13  
ومن هو احسن من + D 20 يهودا + D 19 له الحمد + D 18  
ومن احسن من الله صبغة + PX ; صبغة الله اعنى بذلك الصبغة  
الحلصى + D 22 المقدسية X 21 اعنى بذلك الصبغة



ووحنا فصدقت بكلام<sup>1</sup> ربها<sup>2</sup> وكانت من الشاهدين. وكتبت  
له ايضا يا يسوع<sup>3</sup> المسيح انى متوفيك ورافعك الى<sup>4</sup> ومظهرك  
كفر الدين\* كفروا<sup>5</sup> الى يوم القيامة اعنى بذلك موته<sup>6</sup> وصعوده<sup>7</sup>  
الى السماء وتعمده<sup>8</sup> بالماء دون الدين<sup>9</sup> كفروا وانه الان جعل<sup>10</sup>  
كل الدين اتبعوه<sup>11</sup> وامنوا به فوق الدين\* كفروا به الى يوم  
القيامة بظهور<sup>12</sup> ملك الروم على ملك اليهود<sup>13</sup> وتسليطهم عليهم\*.

ومظهرك D\* 4 ايسوع PX 3 وكتابه + PX 2 بكلمه D 1  
PX 6 بك + D 5 ومظهرك الدين X; ومظهر الدي P; من  
PX 9\* وتعميده D 8 وعوده D 7 موته عن D; موت سيدنا عنا  
به اعنى بذلك صبيغنى المسيح اد قال D; كفروا به وان الاب جعل  
اعنى بذلك ظهوره D 12 تبعوه PX 11 D 10\* وان الاب جعل  
وكتبت له ايضا في اعلا كتابى + and then; وتسليطهم PX 13\*  
هذا من امر الملوك الذين مضيت (قضت P) بلا خفيفة  
فاكتب عنى كتاب خطيتى وما قد وصفته في هذا الكتاب  
الذى جعلته يشهد له بالنبوة والرسالة وبما قد اجرنت  
(اجرمت P) على الله فيه وعلى سيدى والاهى يسوع المسيح  
بعد ان حرصت ان يكون فيه اسم الثالث الواحد الاب  
والابن والروح القدس ان لا يستطيع يذكر ذلك ومن كثرة  
جزاتى على الله اردت ان ايثت ملك اسمعيل لكى يتم وعد  
الله لابراهيم في اسمعيل ولا اشرع شىء سواه فشرعه له النبوة  
وجعلته كتابا وجعلته منزل في الوحى اليه ليتم قول ربنا  
المسيح سيأتيكم بعدى الابد الكدبة فالويل لمن يتبعهم. وقد  
جعلت كثر هذا الكتاب فيه ذكر اللاهوتة والناسوتة واما النور

وكتبته له ايضا ولما توفيتني كنت الرقيب عليهم. وكتبته له ايضا على الصليب\*<sup>2</sup> في يدك اودع روحى واسلم\* روح ناسوته وصار الرقيب على بيعته<sup>3</sup> وتلاميذه. وكتبته له ايضا وما قتلوه

الظاهر وجميع العجايب التى صنعها فى اسرائيل واكده اللعنة على بنى اسرائيل وقربت اليه النصارى فاتى الى بهدايا وذكر ان احكامه لا يستطيع احدا منهم يذكر الذى كنت كتبت له به من الاشياء الحقيقه وانهم لا يجبروا الاعباداة اوتانهم وذلك ليتم قول ربنا المسيح فى الانجيل لا يستطيع احد ايتى الى الا من اجتد به اتى الذى فى السماوات. فكتبته له قل هو الله احد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفوا احد وقلت له قول لهم قد انزلت على هذه الايت وهذا لما قلت له تحققه اننى تجريت على الله الاهى وشبهته بالذى كانوا يعبدونهم وجعلته صمد مفرد لا يسمع ولا يبصر كمثله الحجر. وانما فعلت ذلك بانقطاع رجائى منه وكتبته له ايضا يا عيسى ابن مريم انت قلت للناس اتخذونى انا الاهين من دون الله. فقال سبحانه ما قلت ما ليس يحق لى ان كنت قلت فقد عملته تعلم ما فى نفسى ولا اعلم ما فى نفسك. وكتبته له ايضا ولما توفيتني كنت الرقيب عليهم. وكتبته له هذا ايضا بمعنى قول سيدنا يا ابتاه فى يدك اودع روحى واسلم روح ناسوته وصار الرقيب على شعبة وتلاميذه. وكتبته له ايضا وما صلبوه ولا قتلوه.

فى يدك D\*<sup>2</sup> حبر قال وحو على عود الصليب يا ابناه D\*<sup>1</sup>

شعبة D\*<sup>3</sup> اسلم واودع روحى فانه اسلم

ولا صلبوه<sup>1</sup> ولكن شبه لهم اعنى<sup>2</sup> بذلك ان<sup>3</sup> المسيح لم يموت<sup>4</sup>  
 بجوهر اللاهوت بل [ا]نما مات<sup>5</sup> بجوهر ناسوته\* لما ارادوا<sup>7</sup>  
 يكسروا ساقيه على الصليب مثل (fol. 161 b) الصين<sup>8</sup> شبه لهم  
 انه ميت ليلا يكسروا له عظم ليتم<sup>9</sup> الكتاب ان يقول\* وعظم  
 لا يكسر له. وكتبت له ايضا وَلَتَجِدَنَّ<sup>10</sup> اقْرَبَهُم اليك\* مَوَدَّةَ  
 الدِّينِ<sup>11</sup> قَالُوا اَنَا نَصَارَى<sup>12</sup> وَذَلِكَ أَنَّ مِنْهُمْ قِسْيَسِينَ وَرُهَبَانًا\*  
 وَأَنْتَهُمْ<sup>13</sup> لَا يَسْتَكْبِرُونَ. وكتبت له<sup>14</sup> ايضا ولتجدن اشدهم عداوة  
 للدين امنوا اليهود والدين<sup>15</sup> اشركوا<sup>16</sup> فرايته يتوهم ان الدين\*  
 اشركوا هم المصارى. وكان<sup>17</sup> لا يبين لى† ذلك<sup>18</sup> حيا منى ولا  
 كنت الحشف له السر خوفا من جهل اصحابه. فبينت له ان  
 قريش هم المشركين<sup>19</sup> المستكبرين.<sup>18</sup> وكتبت له ايضا ان  
 المشركين نجسين<sup>20</sup> فلا يقربون<sup>21</sup> البيت عامهم<sup>22</sup> هذا الان  
 قريش<sup>23</sup> كانت تعبد\* الاوتان داخل بيت مكة وهم مقيمين<sup>24</sup>  
 حوله يسجدون للالصنام فعلم ان المعنى<sup>25</sup> لهم فنقلهم ومنهما<sup>26</sup>  
 من هناك تم اكدت<sup>27</sup> عليه في المعنى. فكتبت<sup>18</sup> له<sup>28</sup> ادا لقيتم

1 Here X commences again 2 D > 3 D السيد 4 DX يمت

5 DX انه مات 6\* D بطبيعة الناسوت 7 D + ان 8 D الصين

9\* X اقرب اليكم 10\* D اقربهم اليكم 11 X قول الكتاب 12\* X > الذى

13 X هم 14 D لهم 15 D الدين 16† D > ;

او انى رايته (اد النصارى) ليس هم الدين اشركوا + and then

المشركون 17 X + ولا 18 X > 19 D هو يسمع لى وما نبين

الى عامتهم X عيهم 20 D 21 D يقتربون نجسا X انجاس 22 D

23\* D كانوا يعبدوا 24 D مقيمون 25 D المعناه 26 DX >

27 D اخذت 28 D لهم X >

المشركين حول البيت فاطردوهم<sup>1</sup> واضربوهم وادا قاتلوكم فاقتلوهم.\*  
 وكتبت له ايضا ان<sup>2</sup> كان للرحمن ولدا فانا اول العابدين<sup>3</sup>  
 'فقدروهم انها\* لعله اخرين<sup>5</sup> يعنى<sup>6</sup> اول الجاحدين. وكتبت له  
 ايضا اعرفه<sup>7</sup> ان العابدين ليس هم الجاحدين وليس الجاحدين<sup>8</sup>  
 هم العابدين.<sup>9</sup> وكتبت<sup>10</sup> له يا<sup>11</sup> ايها الكافرون لا اعبد ما  
 (fol. 162a) يعبدون<sup>12</sup> ولا انتم عابدون ما اعبد\* ولا انا عابد  
 ما عبدتم<sup>12</sup> ولا انتم عابدين ما اعبد.\* لكم دينكم ولى ديني.  
 وكتبت له ايضا ادا<sup>13</sup> تبايعتم فاشهدوا شاهدين منكم<sup>14</sup> اعنى  
 شهادة الاب والروح القدس للابن على نهر الاردن بصوت<sup>15</sup>  
 سمعة يوحنا الضايف مع جميع<sup>16</sup> الشعب القايم<sup>7</sup> بشهادة<sup>17</sup>  
 الاقنوميين للاقنوم<sup>18</sup> باتفاق وحادانية\* الجوهر<sup>19</sup> الاله ازل واحد  
 حى ناطق.\* وكتبت له ايضا قالت اليهود يد الله مغلولة  
 فغلت<sup>20</sup> يدهم<sup>21</sup> ولعنوا بما قالوا اعنى بذلك قول اليهود فى  
 المسيح وهو على<sup>22</sup> الصليب<sup>23</sup> خلص اخرين ولنفسه لا يقدر  
 يخلص<sup>24</sup> انزل الان<sup>25</sup> من على\* الصليب لنرى<sup>26</sup> ونومن

واذا راجموكم فاطردوهم واضربوهم وادا ما (X) قابلوكم DX 1\*  
 له فانهم احدوها D 4\* العابدون D 3 فان D 2 قاتلوهم  
 D 8 (X 7 بذلك + D 6 اخرى DX 5 فقدروهم انها X  
 (DX 12\* قول يا + D 11 فقلت X 10 العابدون D 9 الجاحدون  
 DX 17 شهادة X 16 بصوت D 15 بينكم D 14 وادا DX 13  
 ;واله واحد ان لى ناطق D 19\* باتفاقا وحادانية D 18\* شهادة  
 ايديهم D 21 غلت X ;غايه D 20 واله واحد ازل حى ناطق X  
 ان كنت انت ابن الله + D 24 اد + D 23 عود + D 22  
 لكى نرى X ;لنرا D 26 عن X ;من D 25\*

١ ارادوا به لاستهزأ وضعف اليد وانه عاجز لا قدرة<sup>٢</sup> له.<sup>٣</sup>  
 وكتبت له ايضا ان كنت في شك مما<sup>٤</sup> انزل عليك<sup>٥</sup> فسل الدين  
 اوتوا\* الكتاب من قبلك اردت بذلك تصحيح الانجيل<sup>٦</sup> المقدس  
 من<sup>٧</sup> الكتب كلها ولا يلحقه<sup>٨</sup> نقص ممن<sup>٩</sup> تهمة ولا يقاس  
 عليها\* تغيير<sup>١٠</sup> ولا تحريف. وكتبت له ايضا وادا قال يسوع  
 المسيح للحواريين<sup>١١</sup> <sup>١٢</sup> من انصارى<sup>١٣</sup> الى الله قالوا<sup>١٤</sup> الحواريون\*  
 نحن انصار الله فامنت طائفة من بنى اسرائيل وكفرت طائفة<sup>١٥</sup>  
 فايدنا الدين\* امنوا على عدوهم (fol. 162 b) واصبحوا ظاهرين  
 اعنى بذلك انه لما<sup>١٦</sup> قال المسيح<sup>١٧</sup> لتلاميذه من\*<sup>١٨</sup> تقولون<sup>١٩</sup>  
 انى\* فقالوا انت هو المسيح ابن الله الحى فمذحهم<sup>٢٠</sup> وشكر  
 ذلك<sup>٢١</sup>\* وسام<sup>٢٢</sup> انصار الله وامنت به طائفة من بنى اسرائيل  
 وكفرت طائفة\*<sup>٢٣</sup> فايدنا<sup>٢٤</sup> الدين<sup>٢٥</sup> امنوا على عدوهم بعد ذلك  
 فاصبحوا ظاهرين يوم قيامته من<sup>٢٦</sup> بين الاموات. تم بين ا

وكان قصدهم بهذا الاستهزأ به اى انه خلص قصير<sup>١</sup> D  
 بما X 4 > X 3 يقدر X 2 اليد لا يستطيع خلاص داته  
 D 7\* للانجيل 6 D سالو الذى يتلوا X اسل الدين اوتوا D 5\*  
 يلحقها X 8 ساير الكتب بغير نقص ولا تهمة ولا قياس فيلحقها  
 X 12\* للحواريون X للحواريون D 11 تعبیر X 10 من X 9  
 X 17\* > D 16 قايدنا الذى X 15\* قال D 14 انصارى D 13  
 وشكرهم X 20\* انتم + D 19 تقولوا اننى انا X 18\* للتلاميذ ما  
 وامنت به الحلايق D 23\* > X 22 لهم + D 21 على ذلك  
 وحصل لهم علو المنزلة والرفعة دون غيرهم وكتبت له اشيا كثيرة  
 ارض الموتى ثم آمن X 26† للذين X 25 قيادا X 24 لا تحصى

به الخلايق ورفعهم واطهر<sup>1</sup> ملكهم وسلطانهم على الدين  
كفروا به الى يوم القيامة واشيا لا تحصى<sup>2</sup> كتبتها له\* اطلب  
بها الميل الى ايمان الحق<sup>3</sup> والشهادة بحى المسيح الى العالم  
وتكذيب ايضا<sup>4</sup> اليهود فيما يدعوه<sup>5</sup> على سيدنا<sup>6</sup> المسيح  
الحقاني<sup>7</sup>

فقال لي<sup>8</sup> كيف ابتدئ<sup>9</sup> اعمل بينهم ديننا\* وشريعة. فقلت  
له لا بذلك مما<sup>10</sup> تفرض عليهم فروضا<sup>11</sup> وتستئن<sup>12</sup> لهم سننا  
تكون خفيفة سهلة. فقال لي ان احبابي عرب<sup>13</sup> بادية جفاة  
لم<sup>14</sup> يعتادوا صوما\* ولا صلاة ولا شىء<sup>15</sup> يتعبهم ولا يوديهم.  
فقلت له ليس يستوى لك امرا<sup>16</sup> ولا يتم لك حال الا بان<sup>17</sup>  
تبتدى تاخذهم بالصوم والصلوات وتقيم<sup>18</sup> عليهم رسوما حتى  
يعلموا ويتيقنوا\* انك نبي<sup>19</sup> مرسل اليهم تامر وتنهى وشريعة<sup>20</sup>  
معلومة ليلا يتقوى<sup>21</sup> بعضهم على بعض ينقضى<sup>22</sup> (fol. 163 a)  
بها لا يجب والا فليس تقوم لك مملكة<sup>23</sup> ولا يستقيم<sup>24</sup> لك  
امرا ولا يتثبت<sup>25</sup> لك حال. فقال لي ارايت<sup>26</sup> ان امرتهم بالصوم  
والصلاة<sup>27</sup> وهم لا يطيقونه كيف\* اعمل وليس يتهيا لي ان

يدعوا D 5 ) X 4 بالحق D 3 حصا X 2 لهم + X 1  
الاله الحقيقي X ; الله الحق D 7 يسوع + X 6 يدعوا به X ; به  
ما D 10 اعمل لهم ديننا X ; واعمل لهم دين D 9 \* عرفنى + D 8  
يعتادوا بصوما X 14 \* ) DX 13 وتستئن X 12 فروض X 11  
لهم رسوما D 18 \* ان X 17 الامر D 16 الامر D 15 شيا X ;  
D 21 بهم ثم تجعل لهم شريعة D 20 نبيا D 19 فيعلمو ويتيقنو  
D 24 يستقم D 23 رتبة X ; رايه D 22 يتعدى X ; يعتدى  
يقضونه فكيف D 27 \* ) D 26 كلمة X 25 يستقيم

اكرهمهم<sup>1</sup>. فقلت له <sup>2</sup> تقول<sup>3</sup> صوموا من غدوة\* الى الليل وكلوا<sup>4</sup>  
 من اول الليل الى غدوة حتى<sup>5</sup> يتبين لكم الحيط\* الابيض  
 من الحيط الاسود من الحجر. فقال لي ارايت<sup>6</sup> ان امرتهم بالصلاة  
 وهم لا يطبقونها<sup>7</sup> لانهم لم يعتادوا<sup>7</sup> فكيف اعمل. فقلت له  
 تصفهم<sup>8</sup> صفا صفا\* وراك<sup>9</sup> وانت قدامهم\* وادا كتروا صفوا  
 فتقدم<sup>10</sup> انت امامهم تصلى<sup>11</sup> بهم. فادا انت<sup>12</sup> فكست راسك  
 نكسوا<sup>13</sup> رويسهم<sup>14</sup> وادا انت<sup>12</sup> رفعت رفعوا رويسهم<sup>12</sup>\* وادا سجدت  
 سجدوا وادا قمت قاموا فانهم<sup>15</sup> يتعلمون<sup>16</sup> ويعتادون<sup>17</sup> وهذا<sup>18</sup>  
<sup>19</sup> ليس فيه\* تعب ولا<sup>20</sup> نضب<sup>21</sup> فيكون التعب على الديو بين  
 ايديهم وترسم لهم ثلاثة ركعات\* في كل صلاة ليلا يخجروا  
 فيهربوا. ورسمت له<sup>22</sup> كل امور<sup>23</sup> صلاة تالوتا وعلمته في الصلاة  
 كيف\* يصلى وجعلت بدايتها<sup>24</sup> تالوتا اول ما<sup>25</sup> يقوم للصلاة<sup>26</sup>  
 يبسط\* يديه ويقبها عند ادنيه تحقيقا للتالوت ورأس<sup>27</sup>

قول X 3 قول لهم ان يصوموا ما غدوة D 2\* اكرهمهم X 1  
 صفوا D 8\* > D 7 ورايت D 6 بيان الحيط D 5\* وياكلوا D 4  
 تصلو D; وصلى X 11 فاتقدم X; ثم تقدم D 10 > DX 9\* صفوا  
 فهم DX 15 > D 14\* ينكسون X; نكسوا هم D 13 > X 12  
 DX 19\* > DX 18 ويتعودون X; وياندوا D 17 هذا + D 16  
 فيكون سن التعب عليهم وارسم D 21\* في + X 20 وليس هم في  
 فيكون التعب على الذين بين ايديهم فعلمهم X; ثلاث ركعات  
 امور ثلاثة تالوتا وعلمته D 23\* لهم X 22 وترسم ثلث ركعة  
 D 24 امور صلاته تالوتا تالوتا وعلمته كل صلاة كيف X; كيف  
 الى الصلاة X 26 يقيم الصلاة ويبسط D 25\* ابتدا صلاته  
 رأس D 27

الايمان. تم جعلت كل ركعة تثليث في صلاة<sup>1</sup> ينكسر راسه ويرفعها. تم يجر<sup>2</sup> في<sup>3</sup> الارض (fol. 163 b) ويجلس ويصجد ويقوم. وايضا<sup>4</sup> حققت تحقيق التالوت الموحد عند<sup>5</sup> تمام<sup>6</sup> صلاته يحول وجهه الى\* يمينه ويقول<sup>7</sup> عليكم ورحمة الله<sup>8</sup> وبرهنت لك<sup>9</sup> في القول اللهم انك السلام ومنك السلام واليك السلام يعنى الاب والابن والروح القدس اله واحد<sup>10</sup> كلمته وروحه منه<sup>11</sup> واليه والابن منه مولود\* واليه يعود والروح القدس<sup>12</sup> منبتق معه<sup>13</sup> ومتفق.<sup>14</sup>

تم قلت له ليس يجوز<sup>15</sup> صوم ولا صلاة الا بالطهر<sup>16</sup> والاعتسال بالماء الطاهر. فقال لي وكيف هو<sup>17</sup> الطهور والاعتسال بالماء الطاهر فعلمني اياه. فقلت له<sup>18</sup> الطهر الكبير وهو\* محتجب محجوب فجد<sup>19</sup> في الطهور القريب<sup>20</sup> الموجود عند كل صلاة. فقال لي صف لي كيف هو. فقلت له تجعل الاناء عن يمينك<sup>21</sup> وتمسح بالماء راسك وداخل ادنيك وداخل ادنيك وداخل فيك\* اردت بذلك متال التالوت. تم قلت له هذا الطهور بقى<sup>22</sup>

اتمام الصلاة D 5\* ايضا 4 على X 3 ويجر D 2 صلا D 1  
ثم يحول + D 8 السلام + DX 7 اتمام X 6 وانه يحول الى  
الواحد X 10 > X 9 وجهه الى شماله ويقول كذلك وقدام ايضا  
> DX 14 ومعه DX 13 منه + D 12 الابن D ; X 11\*  
الطهور الكبير وهو D 18\* هذا 17 بالطهور DX 16 يتم X 15  
X 20 متحد X 19 وكيف الظهور الكثير هو بعيد X ; بعيد  
وتأخذ من الما ثم تمسح على شعر راسك D 21\* بالقرب  
وتمسح بالماء على شعر راسك وداخل ادنيك X ; وداخل فيك  
ففى DX 22 داخل فيك



الاجتسال وليس هذا الاجتسال الكامل ولا الطهر<sup>1</sup> الكامل كما  
كان قد سبق\* من قولى بديا.<sup>3</sup> قال وما هذا الاجتسال ايضا  
عرفنى. فقلت له تغسل وجهك<sup>4</sup> ويديك ورجليك\* اردت بذلك  
مثال التالوت. ثم قال لى فكم افرض عليهم من صلاة<sup>5</sup> فى كل  
يوم<sup>6</sup> وهم قوم<sup>7</sup> لم يعتادوا (fol. 164 a) بصلاة.<sup>8</sup> فقلت له افرض  
عليهم سبع<sup>9</sup> صلوات فى كل يوم مثلما<sup>10</sup> النصرى يقرؤا<sup>11</sup> لكل  
صلاة مزمر كبير بثلاثة<sup>12</sup> تحجيدات وترويجة.<sup>13</sup> ثم يجتمعون  
للصلاة بكترة<sup>14</sup> السجود والوتر.<sup>15</sup> فقال لى ما<sup>16</sup> يطيقون<sup>17</sup> ولا  
يقدررون<sup>18</sup> ولا يطيعونى<sup>19</sup> ولا يقبلون منى مثل هذا كله.<sup>20</sup>  
فقلت له قصر لهم الصلاة<sup>21</sup> ثلاثة دفعات بركوع\* ولا تزيد  
عليها ولا تنقص منها كما<sup>22</sup> وصفت لك<sup>23</sup> ولكن تكون سبع  
صلوات فى سبع اوقات تعرفونها\* اولها قبل الصبح بثلاثة<sup>24</sup>  
ساعات يقال عندنا صلاة<sup>25</sup> سحر واسميتها<sup>25</sup> لهم صلاة<sup>26</sup> الفجر  
والثانية اول\* ساعة من النهار<sup>27</sup> يقال لها عندنا الصلاة<sup>28</sup>

لك اول<sup>3</sup> D كما سبق X; كما قد سبق D \* 2 الطهر<sup>1</sup> D  
مثلما + X 6 الصلاة X 5 وتغسل يديك وتغسل رجلك D \* 4  
سبعة X 9 صلاة X; فى صلاة D 8 قوما D 7 النصرى يقرؤون  
بثلاث DX 12 يقرؤون X; فانهم يقرؤون D 11 يعملون D + 10  
لا D 16 > D 15 وكثرة 14 ثم يعبدون D + و; وترويجة X 13  
التقل كله D 20 يطيعون DX 19 عليه + D 18 هذا + D 17  
D \* 23 قد + DX 22 ثلث ركوع X; ثلاث دفع روع (sic!) D \* 21  
ولكن تكن سبعة صلوات X; ولتكن سبعة لسبعة اوقات يعرفونها  
وسميتها X; واسميتها انت D 25 بثلاث X; بثلاث D 24 تعرفونها  
> X \* 27 الثانية تكون اول \* 26

الاولى\* تسميها<sup>1</sup> انت لهم<sup>2</sup> صلاة الصبح<sup>3</sup> والثالثة عندنا في  
ثالث ساعة من النهار تسميها\* انت لهم صلاة الضحا والرابعة  
في<sup>4</sup> سادس ساعة\* من النهار<sup>5</sup> يقال لها\* عندنا السادسة  
سميها<sup>6</sup> لهم صلاة الظهر<sup>7</sup> والخامسة<sup>8</sup> عندنا<sup>9</sup> في تسع<sup>10</sup> ساعات  
من<sup>11</sup> النهار<sup>12</sup> يقال لها عندنا\* التاسعة<sup>13</sup> سميها<sup>14</sup> انت لهم  
صلاة العصر والسادسة<sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup> اخر النهار تسما عندنا صلاة الغروب  
سميها\* انت لهم صلاة المغرب<sup>17</sup> والسابعة<sup>18</sup> <sup>19</sup> بعد المساء وهي  
عندنا\* صلاة النوم<sup>20</sup> اسميها<sup>21</sup> انت لهم صلاة العشاء<sup>22</sup> فقال  
لي<sup>23</sup> اى موضع امرهم يحولون\* وجوههم وهم حول البيت يصلون  
للانصام. فقلت له<sup>24</sup> اجعلهم يصلون الى مشرق الشمس لان<sup>25</sup>

والثالث تكون في ثلاث ساعات D 3\* > D 2 سميها X 1  
وثالثه في ثلث X; ومن النهار يقال لها عندنا الثالثة اسميها  
DX 4\* ساعات النهار يقال لها عندنا صلاة الثالثة فسميها  
نسيها انت X; اسميها انت D 6 تسما D 5\* ستة ساعات  
(X 11 تسعة X 10 تكون D 9 وخامسة X 8 الضهر (?) D 7  
فاسميها D 14 صلاة التاسعة X 13 وهي تسمى عندنا D 12\*  
تكون في اثني عشر D 16\* وصلاة السادسة X 15 فسميها X  
في اثني عشر X; ساعة من وهي عندنا صلاة الغروب فاسميها  
X 17 ساعة اخر النهار صلاة يقال لها صلاة الغروب فسميها  
بعد العشاء يقا لها عندنا D 19\* وسابعة X 18 العشاء  
اعني صلاة الستار + D 20 بعد المساء صلاة يقال لها عندنا X  
اذا صلوا لاي X 23\* العتمة DX 22 فسميها X; فاسميها D 21  
D 24 اى جهة امرهم انهم يحولوا X; موضع امرهم ان يحولون  
ان D 25 لهم

منه يشرق كل نور (fol. 164 b) وكل مصباح وكل كوكب منه  
يجرى ويسير وتحتة جنة عدن الفردوس<sup>1</sup> التي تجرى من تحتها  
الانهار.<sup>2</sup> ثم قلت له امرهم<sup>3</sup> بدق الناقوس لتعرف الناس الحكي  
الى<sup>4</sup> الصلاة فيقبلون<sup>5</sup> اليك افواجا.<sup>6</sup>

ثم<sup>7</sup> رجع الى<sup>8</sup> وذكر انه\* قد امرهم بالسجود الى الشرق<sup>9</sup>  
والصلاة<sup>10</sup> اليه فقاموا عليه<sup>11</sup> وقالوا<sup>12</sup> لا نطاولك وندع قبلتنا  
التي<sup>13</sup> نعرفها نحن واباينا<sup>14</sup> من قبلنا ونصلى الى غيرها وشعنا  
على<sup>15</sup>\* فقلت له قول لهم قد امرني الله ان<sup>16</sup> تصلوا<sup>17</sup> الى  
مكة<sup>18</sup> فصلى معهم اليها.<sup>19</sup>

ثم<sup>20</sup> رجع وقال لي<sup>21</sup> كم افرض عليهم ان يصوموا وهم لا  
يقدرون على صوم.† فقلت له افرض عليهم شهرا<sup>22</sup> ليتبتوا<sup>23</sup>  
عليه ويعرفوه. فقال لي ما يعرفون الشهر ولا يدرون متى<sup>24</sup>

1 D > 2 X + ما الحياة 3 X قامهم 4 D وقت 5 D  
+ DX 7 من كل موضع افواجا افواجا 6 D ليقبلوا X; فيقبلوا  
المشرق X 9 وفنا اخر وقال لي D; يذكر انهم X\* 8 انه  
انهم D 12\* ولم يطيعوا ذلك + and then; على D 11 بالصلاة 10  
ما يخلو قبلتهم التي يعرفونها هم واباؤهم ابدًا وقد شعنا على  
13 X > 17 بان D 16 لذلك + X 15 واباؤنا X 14 الذي X 13  
الى بيت مكة 19 فقبلوه لذلك وصلى + X; بيت مكة DX 18  
وعاد الى وقال لي كم ايام افرض عليهم من صوم ليتبتوا X\* 20  
عليه ويعرفونه لانهم لم يعرفون الشهر ولا يدرون متى اوله  
من اخرة. انهم قوما بادية ما اعتادوا يحسبون ولا يعرفون عدد  
لينبوا(!?) فيه D 23 واحد + D 22 كم صيام D† 21 الايام  
يكون + D 24

اوله ولا متى<sup>1</sup> اخره لانهم بادية بما اعتادوا به ولا<sup>2</sup> يحسبون.<sup>3</sup> نقلت له قول لهم<sup>4</sup> صوموا على روية الهلال\* وانظروا على رويته<sup>5</sup> حتى لا يحتاجون<sup>6</sup> الى عدد<sup>7</sup> ولا الى حساب<sup>8</sup> وعرفته اشياء وعرفته امور واوقفته على السباب\* وحرصت<sup>9</sup> ان يكون ما يلا الى الايمان المستقيم والى الحق المبين اليقين\* والى الايمان<sup>10</sup> الصحيح المنير واكدت<sup>11</sup> عليه في امر سيدنا<sup>12</sup> وربنا المسيح وحيه وانه<sup>13</sup> كلمة الله وروحه ومن التاكيد انى كتبت (fol. 165a) يا مريم ان الله يبشرك منه بكلمة<sup>14</sup> اسمه المسيح واكدت في الكتاب<sup>15</sup> بحية الى العالم<sup>16</sup> وتجسده من مريم العذرى وانها اتمت<sup>17</sup> بعد ولادتها عذرى ليكون شاهد للنصارى\* بحية الى الارض<sup>18</sup> واظهاره<sup>18</sup> الايات والمعجزات<sup>19</sup> من اقامه الموتى\*

صوموا X\* 4 يعرفون حسابا D 3 ما D 2 يكون + D 1  
الهلال + D 5 شهر واحد واذا اصتم صوموا على روية الهلال  
ثم انى عرفته اشياء كثيرة D\* 8 عدد X 7 تحتاجوا X 6  
وعرفته الاشياء كلها وعرفته الامور X; واوضحت له اسباب عده  
بانه يبيل الى طريق المستقيمة D\* 9 ثم اوقفته على اسباب  
ان لا يكون مقبلا ما يلا الى الطريق المستقيم X; والحق المبين  
فلم اقدر ثم D 11 عيمان (!) D 10 والى الحق الميز (?) اليقين  
واتيته (?) عنده D 13 وربنا يسوع X; يسوع D 12 انى اخذت  
بعد X + 17 الارض X 16 > D\* 15 بكلمته الذى D 14 انه  
ولدها عذره ليكون ولدها هكذا عذره شاهدا لنا لما اعتمدوا  
مع D 18 عليه النصرانية من الايمان به في بحية الى العالم  
اقامته الاموات D\* 20 والعجايب X 19 الظهارة

وصعوده الى السماء<sup>1</sup> اذ<sup>2</sup> كان له ذلك\* من<sup>3</sup> الانبياء النبوات  
 'ومن الرسل البينات\* ومن العالم الشهادات وتكذيب اليهود  
 بحجة الى الارض ودعواهم ان<sup>5</sup> ليس هو المسيح وعلمت ان  
 هذا الغلام سيملك ويكون له دولة منيعة<sup>6</sup> وسلطان<sup>7</sup> عظيم  
 وقوة كبيرة وذكر<sup>8</sup> منتشر في اقطار العالم<sup>9</sup> بما قد رايت<sup>10</sup> له  
 من الروياء في طور سينا وبما قد قرأته<sup>11</sup> من التورات وما  
 ذكره<sup>12</sup> متاديوس وما قرأته\* في<sup>13</sup> كتب اخر<sup>14</sup> سيكون له<sup>15</sup> ملكا  
 عظيما\* ودولة عظيمة كبيرة<sup>16</sup> وتنتشر بنو\* اسماعيل في الارض<sup>17</sup>  
 ولا يقف بين يديهم<sup>18</sup> احدا من الملوك يقاتلهم<sup>19</sup> حتى تتم  
 دولتهم وتنقضى مدتهم ويفنى سلطانهم فتبت<sup>20</sup> له<sup>21</sup> حجي  
 المسيح الحقيقي بلاهوت<sup>22</sup> وناسوته وتوحيد اسمه واعتراف  
 النصارى له بالربوبية الدائمة<sup>23</sup> وان الذى ياتى بعده<sup>24</sup>\* هو<sup>25</sup>  
 المسيح الدجال الذى يظل من يتبعه ليكون<sup>26</sup> شاهدا لنا  
<sup>27</sup> وكتابه من بعده\* وليهود مكذبا وللمومنين<sup>28</sup> بحجي المسيح  
 محتاجا وحرصت\* (fol. 165 b) ان اكشف له السر المكنون

كان له بذلك X; ما له من بذلك D\* 2 السموات X 1  
 انه D 5 ومن الرسل الجميع البينة X; D\* 4 الاباء و + X 3  
 الارض D 9 وذكرنا D 8 وسلطانا D 7 ودرجة رفيعة + D 6  
 علة D 13 ذكرته X 12 في الطوراة D\* 11 رايت DX 10  
 D 17 وينتشر ذكر بنى X\* 16 ملك عظيم X\* 15 انه D 14  
 فبينت D 20 يقابلهم X 19 ايديهم D 18 ساير الاقطار  
 والذى بعده X\* 23 ولاهوته X 22 لذلك X 21 X uncertain  
 في ايامه وبعد D\* 27 كتابه + D 26 فهو D 25 بعدى D 24  
 بالمسيح مصدقا وحرصت جدا D\* 28 موته

الذى كشفه<sup>1</sup> السيد<sup>2</sup> لم يسع ذلك عقله ويتمكن في فكرة  
امانة اريوس\* الملعون المارق الكافر الذى قال انى اومن<sup>3</sup> بان  
المسيح\* كلمة الله وابن الله لكنه مخلوق لا<sup>4</sup> حسى<sup>5</sup> محدودا<sup>6</sup>  
ودعب عنه قول النبوات الصادقة والبيانات<sup>7</sup> الناطقة<sup>8</sup> والشهادات  
الراخحة والايات الظاهرة.

تم ان الغلام رجع الى وقال لى ان<sup>9</sup> سالونى عن الجنة  
ناى شى اقول<sup>10</sup> لهم. فقلت له تقول<sup>11</sup> لهم انه يعدلكم\* جنة  
تجرى من تحتها الانهار وتكونوا<sup>12</sup> خالدين فيها ابد<sup>13</sup> وفيها<sup>14</sup>  
نواكه موضوعة لا مقطوعة<sup>15</sup> وفيها<sup>16</sup> طير ما تشتهون من<sup>17</sup>  
جميع الخيرات. فقال لى فان سالونى<sup>18</sup> عن هذه الانهار الذى<sup>19</sup>  
تجرى من<sup>20</sup> الجنة<sup>21</sup> اى شى\* اقول لهم. فقلت له قول لهم  
اربعة انهار تجرى في الجنة نهر<sup>22</sup> من ماء<sup>23</sup> ونهر من خمر  
ونهر من عسل ونهر\* من لبن لدنة<sup>24</sup> للشاربين<sup>25</sup> اعنى ان<sup>26</sup>  
الاربعة انهار الذى تجرى من<sup>27</sup> الجنة وتسقى العالم وهى<sup>28</sup> رسم

نلم يقبله عقله ولا سمعه وتمكن من D\* 2 الى D + 1  
ولم يسع ذلك عقله وفكرة سوى امانة X; فكرة امانه اريوس  
محدود D X 5 ) 4 D ان المسيح X; بالمسيح انه D\* 3 ريوس  
قول D X 10 اقله D 9 فان هم D 8 القاطعة D X 7 البيئات D 6  
X 13 وتكونون X; وتكون D 12 ان معدا لكم X; ان لكم D\* 11  
لجم D + 15 ممنوعة + X; ولا اول هنوعة (?) D + 14 فيها  
في D X 20 التى D X 19 سائلون D 18 فيها D + 17 ومن D 16  
اية D 24 ونهرا، ونهرا، خمر، ونهرا D\* 23 نهرا D 22 ايش D\* 21  
وانى اعنيت بذلك الاربعة انهار الانجيلية متى مرقص ولوقا D\* 25  
وهم X 28 في X 27 على X 26 ويوحنا التى هى كل المومنين

ودلالة وتاريل المسيح بما قد سبقت به في الكتب انه يجري  
 من بطنه انهرا<sup>1</sup> تسقى العالم اى الاربعة اناجيل الذى اسقت  
 العالم باسره<sup>2</sup> وهدتهم الى الطريق المستقيم<sup>3</sup> لاننى رايت  
 القوم لا يطلبون الا شهوة قلوبهم وفروجهم<sup>4</sup> فاعطيتهم محبوبهم<sup>5</sup>  
 انهم<sup>6</sup> ياكلون فيها<sup>7</sup> ويشربون ويتنعمون. تم انه قال الى  
 (fol. 166 a) ان سالونى<sup>8</sup> هل في الجنة نساء نتمتع بهن<sup>9</sup> فالى  
 شى اقول لهم. فقلت له قول لهم ان فيها حور العين<sup>10</sup>  
 حسان يلتد بهن الرجال<sup>11</sup> كل الايام اباكار كالآثمار ولم يمسهن  
 انس<sup>12</sup> ولا جان<sup>13</sup> طولها كذا وكذا<sup>14</sup> وعرضها كذا وكذا وما  
 يستحيا من ذكره<sup>15</sup> كذا وكذا وشرحت له صفة الجنة وطعامها  
 وشرابها ونعيمها ولداتها<sup>16</sup> وحورياتها<sup>17</sup> وروضاتها وقصورها  
 وعرفها وفرشها<sup>18</sup> ولباسها وجللها واصناف اسربتها وابندها.  
فقال قد عرفتنى فاحسنت وفهمتني فاجلدت وبشرتني فارشدت  
 وقد اسرت على<sup>19</sup> بديا<sup>20</sup> ان اعلمهم ناموسا واضع<sup>21</sup> لهم<sup>22</sup> شريعة  
 وقد علمت ما وصفته لى<sup>23</sup> فما فهموه<sup>24</sup> فاختصر الان عليهم  
 بما<sup>25</sup> تقبله<sup>26</sup> عقولهم وتنظرون<sup>27</sup> به نفوسهم ويكون لهم ذلك  
 دينا<sup>28</sup> يقينا يعتادوا<sup>29</sup> به ولا يشكل عليهم امرة<sup>30</sup> ولا يحتاجون

فبلغتهم ارادتهم<sup>3</sup> D \* باسره<sup>2</sup> X ما الحياة<sup>1</sup> X +  
 ) D \* 5 شهوتهم<sup>4</sup> X واعطينهم محبوبهم وسعتهم بانهم  
 D 10 لا انس<sup>9</sup> X في<sup>8</sup> X + بهم<sup>7</sup> D تم قالوا الى<sup>6</sup> D +  
 وحورياتها<sup>13</sup> X ; وحورياتها<sup>12</sup> D ولديتها<sup>11</sup> X دكرا<sup>10</sup> X جن  
 لها<sup>18</sup> X ? واصنع<sup>17</sup> اولابان<sup>16</sup> D ) X + 15 ) D \* 14  
 فتنعم على<sup>20</sup> D \* شرعا فقد علمتهم وجميع ما اوصفته<sup>19</sup> D  
 يعتادون<sup>24</sup> D ) X 23 وتطيب فيه<sup>22</sup> D يقبله<sup>21</sup> X شيا مختصر

فيه الى فحص ولا الى بحت ليلا لم<sup>1</sup> يطيعوا ويرجعوا<sup>2</sup> الى عبادة  
الاصنام<sup>3</sup> التي قد اعتادوا بها. فقلت له ان كان القوم قد  
اعتادوا واتخذوها الهة\* فقول لهم قول مختصر ان<sup>4</sup> الايمان  
الصحيح ان<sup>5</sup> يقولوا<sup>6</sup> لا اله الا الله وتكونوا<sup>7</sup> مسلمين ان<sup>8</sup> الله  
قال لي قد رضيت الاسلام لكم ديناً اعنيت<sup>9</sup> بذلك<sup>10</sup> اسم  
"مسلم المسيح ليكون لهم اسم مع الاسم الاول الذي سميتهم  
يتبت لهم الى انقضاء ملك[هم]. فقلت له محرم عليهم المنية\*  
والدم ولحم الخنزير (fol. 166 b)<sup>12</sup> ويصير لهم عيداً<sup>13</sup> ان الجمعة  
الى الجمعة لتكون<sup>14</sup> لهم شريعة\* معروفة وادا كان يوم الجمعة<sup>15</sup>  
نامرهم ان<sup>16</sup> يجتمعوا اليك<sup>17</sup> في المسجد من كل موضع وتصلي  
بهم<sup>18</sup> وتوصيهم ان\* يتعدوا على احدا<sup>19</sup> ويتعاونوا ويفرحوا

ولا يرجعوا الى قولي D ; ويرجعون X 2 ان لم X ; ما D 1)  
الذي اعتادوها واتخذوها الهته. X ; D 3\* واخشاء ان يعودوا  
ويكونوا D 7 تقول X 6 انهم D 5 مختصر D 4 قلت له  
X 11\* ان + X 10 عنيت X ; واني اعنيت D 9 فان X 8  
مسلم هو الذي اسلم عن شعبه وهو الاسم الثابت الذي يكون  
به انقضى ملكهم وقلت لهم ايضا يحرم عليكم ايضا المنية  
مسلم سيده يتبت لهم الى انقضى ملكهم ثم اني قلت له D  
وجرسوا مع ذلك ان X 12\* ايضا انك محرم عليهم المنية  
يكون لهم من الجمعة الى الجمعة مثل عيد يعيدوه ليكون لهم  
جمعا X 15 من جمعة ليكون D 14† عيد D 13 شريعة  
ثم توصيهم X ; ثم ووصيهم انهم D 18\* الى D 17 انهم D 16  
ويتصاوتوا X ; ويكونوا فرحين مثل النصارى في كنايسهم D 19\* ان  
يفرحوا كما تفرخ النصارى في كنايسهم



متل النصرارى فى بيعهم\* يوم الاحد ويعظمونه لانه<sup>1</sup> يوم جليل  
يوم خلاص العالم ووقت صنعة ادم مع صلاة الظهر<sup>2</sup> وتكون  
صلاتهم<sup>3</sup> الجمعة الظهر\*.

تم قال لى انك قلت لى<sup>4</sup> ان صلات النصرارى طويلة وقومى  
فليس<sup>5</sup> يطيقون التطويل. فقلت له<sup>6</sup> ان تفرض\* عليهم ثلاثة<sup>7</sup>  
ركعات فى كل صلاة مثلها<sup>8</sup> تصلى<sup>9</sup> النصرارى اول\* دخولهم  
البيعة<sup>10</sup> فانه يصلى واحدة لنفسه قبل ان يقف خلف الامام<sup>11</sup>  
فتصير انت [وا]صحابك<sup>12</sup> يصلوا<sup>13</sup> خلفك فى جماعة فادا<sup>14</sup> صلا  
واحدا<sup>15</sup> من امتك وحده فلا يزيد ولا ينقص على صلاة الجماعة\*.  
تم رجع الى<sup>15</sup> وهو مهموم<sup>16</sup> وقال لى ان قومى قالوا<sup>17</sup> نريد  
ان<sup>18</sup> تبين لنا وتعج<sup>19</sup> ان كنت نبيا وان كان<sup>19</sup> كلامك  
حق حتى نومن انك ارسلت الينا بالنبوة لتحيدنا عن عبادة  
الهلتننا. فقلت له<sup>20</sup> تقول<sup>21</sup> لهم ان الله يرسل الى كتابا من  
السماء وقد وعدنى به الى السبوع<sup>22</sup> ياتينى به<sup>23</sup> رسولا لا

ليس DX 5 ) D 4 يوم + D 3 ) X \* 2 فانه X 1  
X \* 9 او مثل ما DX 8 ثلث X ; ثلاث D 7 اعرف D \* 6  
فانهم يضربون ثلاث مطانيات ثم D \* 10 النصرانى فى اول  
اقف انت وهم يقفوا خلفك يصلون وهى تكون صلاة واحدة  
ان كانوا جماعة او واحد فهى وحده تكون صلاة مفروظ بلا  
X + 14 يصلون X 13 So X 12 الايام X 11 نقص ولا زيادة  
لى + D 17 معبس الوجه + D 16 دفعة اخرى + D 15 واحد  
ثم + D تبين وتعج لنا وتبين نبوتك لنا وتعج X \* 18  
X 22 قول DX 21 لا تحزن بل + X 20 ) X 19 قبرهن  
مع + DX 23 اسبوع D ; اسبوعا

يتكلم يبشرني كما بشر نوح في السفينة مع رسول<sup>1</sup> لا يتكلم  
 بانصراف الماء<sup>2</sup> عن وجه الارض كذلك ياتيكم الهدا (fol. 167 a)  
 بانصراف الضلالة<sup>3</sup> عن قلوبكم وقات<sup>4</sup> الايمان في صدوركم  
 بالوصايا والاخبار والقصص<sup>5</sup> ويشهد بالنبوة والرسالة. وكتبت  
 له ايضا محمد رسول الله ارسله<sup>6</sup> بالهدى<sup>7</sup> ودين الحق ليظهره  
 على<sup>8</sup> الدين كله ولو كره المشركين.\* وكتبت له ايضا ما  
 محمد الا رسول قد خلت من قبله الرسل. وايضا انك رسول  
 الله والله يشهد انك رسوله<sup>10</sup> ان<sup>11</sup> الله وملائكته يصلون  
 على<sup>12</sup> النبي يا ايها الدين امنوا صلوا عليه وسلموا تسليما.  
 وايضا ما فرطنا<sup>13</sup> في الكتاب<sup>14</sup> من شئ واشيا كثيرة عظيمة  
 كتبتها له<sup>15</sup> واحكمتها له\* واني اعلم انها ستتغير<sup>16</sup> وتنقص  
 وتزداد مرار<sup>17</sup> كثيرة<sup>18</sup> لان من بعده يستتبعه\* قوما<sup>19</sup> ويتموا<sup>20</sup>  
 لنا اعدا<sup>21</sup> واحيا وغير ذلك\* ويستحسن كل واحدا منهم<sup>22</sup> ما  
 احب<sup>23</sup> ومن بعده يغيرون اكثر ما كتبت له\* ويقوم قوم من  
 احبابه ويقاتلون على الملك والدولة ويقتل منهم خلق كثير†

ويثبت X 4 الظلالة X 3 ما الطوفان D 2 رسولا DX 1  
 D 9\* كل + D 8 بالهدا DX 7 ارسلت X ; D 6 > D 5  
 عليه X 12 وان X 11 وكتبت له ايضا + D 10 قبله وبعده  
 واحكمتها X ; لم احكمتها D 15\* كتابنا X 14 فرضنا D 13  
 الا اني علمت D 18\* مراراً D 17 تغيروا X ; (?) سبعين D 16  
 ويصيروا D 20 كثيرة + X 19 لان يستتبعه X ; انه سيتبعه  
 ومن بعده ما كتبت X 22\* ويعلموا ما يقوم في نفوسهم D 21\*  
 يعملوه ويقولوه D 23+ به ويغيرون اكثروا به

ويقع<sup>1</sup> بينهم الخلف والعداوة بعد موته ويكون على وجل<sup>2</sup>  
ومخافة<sup>3</sup> من البداية\* الى انقصى<sup>4</sup> دولتهم ويفنى<sup>5</sup> ملكهم ولم<sup>6</sup>  
تزال<sup>7</sup> بينهم العداوة\* والبغض<sup>8</sup> والذكر القبيح ويرأ بعضهم  
قتل بعض<sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup>قربا الى الله\* ولا يفنون الا بالسيف.

ثم<sup>11</sup> جاني<sup>12</sup> وقال لي قد فعلت<sup>13</sup> ما امرتني به واشرت  
ورضوا<sup>14</sup> بما اوعدهم به. <sup>15</sup>فقلت له (fol. 167 b) قد كتبت لك  
كتابا محكما<sup>16</sup> فيه جميع ما تحتاج\* اليه من مسایل واخبار  
وقصص الانبياء والصديقين وحديث الشهداء والصالحين  
ومواعظ<sup>17</sup> حسنة وشهادات بينه<sup>18</sup> كتبت<sup>19</sup> لك<sup>20</sup> النبوة والرسالة<sup>21</sup>  
وما<sup>22</sup> امرك\* <sup>23</sup>الدى<sup>24</sup> ارسلك بالنبوة والهدى ودين الحق  
وله<sup>25</sup> ما فرطت في الكتاب من شئ\*. وكتبت له ايضا انا  
اعطيناك الكوثر فصلى لربك<sup>26</sup> وانحر ان شانك هو الابتتر\* اعني<sup>27</sup>  
بذلك تتليت الاقانيم وتوحيد الربوبية ودمج حمل الفصح النقي  
بلا غيب. وكتبت له ايضا ما<sup>28</sup> حلقت الانس<sup>29</sup> والجآن الا

يوم X 4 من المقابلة X ; D 3 \* دجل X 2 ثم تقع D 1  
D 8 منهم الخلف والعداوة X \* 7 ولا DX 6 وفناء DX 5  
قربان لله X ; قربانا نقدمه الله D \* 10 بعضا X 9 والبغضة  
( D 15 وقد رضوا D 14 لي + X 13 جا الى X 12 انه + D 11  
مثبتة X ; مبينة (?) D 18 ومواعظا 17 في كلما تحتاج X \* 16  
به D \* 23 وكما D 22 مع الرسالة D 21 > X \* 20 تشهد X 19  
كذلك افعل فقد تضمن الكتاب انه قد شهد لك بالنبوة  
X 25 بالدى X 24 والرسالة ودين الحق وانه لم يجز شياء  
D 28 اعنيت D 27 وانحر وان شانيك هو الاكبر X \* 26 وانه  
الانسان D 29 ما قد X ; وما

ليعبدونى اعنيت بذلك الوجدانية الاله 'الخالق الحى الناطق'. \*  
 وكتبته له ايضا لا تجادلوا اهل الكتاب الا بالتى هى<sup>2</sup> احسن  
 اردت بذلك ان لا يخاطبوا<sup>3</sup> اهل الانجيل الا<sup>4</sup> بخطاب جميل\*  
<sup>5</sup> ولا يتهمو<sup>6</sup> بالكذب بل يصدقوا\*. وكتبته له ايضا تريدون  
 ان<sup>7</sup> تطفوا<sup>8</sup> نور الله اعنى<sup>9</sup> بذلك انه نور حى ناطق خالق.  
 وكتبته له ايضا يا مريم ان الله اصطفاك وطهرك على نسا  
 العالمين اردت بذلك<sup>10</sup> التاكيد فى تجليل الطاهرة\* المتول  
 ام النور.

تم جانى وقال لى قد قامت على الجماعة<sup>11</sup> والقبيلة<sup>12</sup>  
 الفلانية وهى خشنة<sup>13</sup> صلبة جاهلية\* شديدة البأس وهى  
 تتصلف على وتنجبر وتتكبر وتأنف (fol. 168 a) من امرى  
 وتهيننى<sup>14</sup> ولا تقبل<sup>15</sup> منى وتقول<sup>16</sup> انها فى العرب اخير منى  
 وانا اخير منهم ابا واما وليس<sup>17</sup> اطيعهم ولا اقدر عليهم  
 لانهم غليظى<sup>18</sup> الطبع متظافرين متساعدين متسابقين<sup>19</sup> ولا<sup>20</sup>  
 اطيع منا ظرتهم ولا شرهم<sup>21</sup> ولا مقارمتهم. فقلت له لا تحزن

الذى لا له الخلق الذى خلق كل الخلايق X\* 1  
 بكل خطابا جميل D\* 4 تخاطبوا X 3 هو D 2 ليعبدونه  
 ثم يجلوا قدرهم ولا يكذبوا قولهم D\* 5 بالخطايب الجميل X  
 وكتبته له ايضا الله نور السموات (السموات D) والارض + DX  
 اعنيت D 9 تطفون X يطفون D 8 > D 7 يتهمون X 6  
 القبيلة DX 12 > DX 11 البجيل (النبجيل P) فى الطاهرة X\* 10  
 ولا تدحل تحت + D 15 وتنهى D 14 صعبة جاهلة D\* 13  
 X 18 ولكنى ما D 17 وترعم D 16 طاعنى لانها تنكر على  
 ولا كيدهم + D 21 ليس D 20 يتسابقون D 19 غلاط

انا اكيفك<sup>1</sup> هذه القضية .وكتبت في الكتاب يا ايها الناس انا  
جعلناكم شعوبا<sup>2</sup> وقبائلا لتتعارفوا<sup>3</sup> ان اكرمكم عند الله اتقاكم.  
وكتبت له ايضا قالت الاعراب امنا فقل<sup>4</sup> لم تؤمنوا ولم يدخل<sup>5</sup>  
الايمان في قلوبكم قولوا اسلمنا اعنيت<sup>6</sup> بذلك ان الايمان  
الحقيق هو الايمان بالمسيح والاسلام اسلام<sup>7</sup> تلميذه المسيح<sup>8</sup>  
وامثال هذا كله كتبت له<sup>9</sup> وحملت عنه المونة<sup>10</sup> والتعب فيه.\*  
ثم قال لي<sup>11</sup> متى ترسل الي الكتاب. فقلت<sup>12</sup> ليس اقدر ارسله  
مع انسان ليلا يتهم<sup>13</sup> وقد بنيت لك اولا انه يرسل\* مع  
رسولا لا يتكلم وانا<sup>14</sup> ادع الكتاب على قرن بقرة الايمن  
واخليها تمر<sup>15</sup> بين البقر وادا هي راحت<sup>16</sup> اليكم<sup>17</sup> تكونوا<sup>18</sup>  
كلكم جالسين مجتمعين على حديث لتنظروا اليها فادا<sup>19</sup>  
اقبلت وسط البقر فادا رايتها\* قد اقبلت<sup>20</sup> بينهم من بعد  
فانهض وقم\* على قدميك وتلقاها بروعة<sup>21</sup> وخشية<sup>22</sup> وهم ينظرون  
اليك وخذ الكتاب<sup>23</sup> من على قرنها\* وقبله واجعله على عينيك

فقلت 4 D لتعرفوا 3 D شعوبا و 2 X فيهم 1 X  
وان السلام X ; ان ما اسلم 7 D عنيت 6 X دخل 5 D لهم  
وكملت (?) عنه ذلك وحملت لتعب فيه X \* 9 له D ; القبح X 8  
يتوهم وينسب الى D 13 له + D 12 ) D 11 المونة D 10  
بنيت لك ذلك اولا وانه يرسل D \* 14 يتهم بسبب X ; غرض  
D 16 انا X 15 تبين لك ذلك بديا وانه يرسل لك X ; اليك  
وانتم كلكم جلوس على حديث D \* 18 اقبلت D 17 تمشي  
بدعة D 21 اليك فانهض وقوم D \* 20 اذا X 19 فادا انظرتها  
عن قرنها X ; من على قرنوها D \* 23 وفرع + X 22

(fol. 168 b) وامسح<sup>1</sup> به وجهك<sup>2</sup> بين ايديهم\* وقول لهم الحمد  
 لله الذى ارسل الينا الهدى لنهتدى والحمد لله الذى اهدانا<sup>3</sup>  
 وما كنا مهتدين\*. وقد<sup>4</sup> كتبت<sup>5</sup> فى اوله<sup>6</sup> يسبح الله<sup>7</sup> ما فى  
 السموات<sup>8</sup> وما فى الارض الملك القدوس العزيز الحكيم الذى هو  
 بعنى بالامس رسولا<sup>9</sup> منهم يتلوا عليهم\* آياته ويعلمهم<sup>10</sup>  
 الكتاب والحكمة وان كانوا من قبل فى<sup>11</sup> ضلال<sup>12</sup> مبين فاد  
 انبضت<sup>13</sup> الكتاب<sup>14</sup> قول لهم\* هو ذا قد بعث<sup>15</sup> اليكم هدا  
 الكتاب العزيز من السماء وحتى<sup>16</sup> لم يكن<sup>17</sup> يستوجب حمله  
 ولا قبوله احدا<sup>18</sup> من الناس قبلته<sup>19</sup> هده البقرة السليمة  
 الطاهرة<sup>20</sup> بلا دنس<sup>21</sup> النقية بلا غيب كما وعدنى\* قوله<sup>22</sup>  
 الحق<sup>23</sup> انى ابعته<sup>24</sup> مع رسولا لا يتكلم وفعل الغلام<sup>25</sup> كلما  
 امرته به\* وسما هذا الكتاب فرقانا لانه كان مفرقا<sup>26</sup> فاجتمع  
 من كتب كثير.<sup>27</sup>  
 تم بدا<sup>28</sup> بحيرة<sup>29</sup> فقال ستكون\* شدايدا<sup>30</sup> عظيمة<sup>31</sup> وجزع<sup>32</sup>

1 D مسح 2\* D ينظرون 3\* X مهتدى 4 D  
 منه اتلو عليكم 5 D السماء 6 X له 7 D + وانى  
 8\* X اقصصت 9 D الضلال 10 X يقى 11 D ويعلم (?) 12 D  
 احد + X من + 13 D وحيث 14 D + الله 15 D تقول  
 دنس 16 X النقية 17 D + حملته 18 D فقبلته 19 X  
 20\* D ارسله 21 X كما اوعدنى 22 D + وقوله 23 D  
 24\* X كثيرة 25 D X مفروقا (?) 26 D كلما امره به 27 X  
 يا الراهب وقال 28 D فقال سيكون 29\* X = سما 30 D تنباء  
 كثيرة 31 X شدايدا 32 D انه سيكون

عظيم<sup>1</sup> ودما كثير<sup>2</sup> تسفك\* في بلد<sup>3</sup> بلد\* لان الله يحول  
وجهه عن الارض كلها في سنة الف وخمسين من سنى<sup>4</sup>  
الاسكندر<sup>5</sup> ويقتل<sup>6</sup> العرب ملكهم\* وتكون مقتلة عظيمة بينهم  
سابوع<sup>8</sup> واحد وفيه يبطل<sup>9</sup> ملك الاتنا عشر ملكا<sup>10</sup> اوليك<sup>11</sup>  
الدين\* قال الله عز وجل لابراهيم ان اتنا عشر (fol. 169 a)  
كبير<sup>12</sup> تخرج<sup>13</sup> من ظهرة<sup>14</sup> وبعد<sup>15</sup> ذلك تملك عصاة بنو هاشم  
القوى وبه<sup>16</sup> يودب الله جميع النلس والبهائم<sup>17</sup> والوحوش ويخربون  
الارض ويملكوها والاشجار\* واليباه<sup>18</sup> وكل شى\* يتحرك منه<sup>19</sup>  
عند<sup>20</sup> ذلك تفتخر<sup>21</sup> بنو هاشم ويربون شعور وروسهم مثل  
النساء ولا يشنعهم<sup>22</sup> ويكون<sup>23</sup> في ايامهم<sup>24</sup> جوع<sup>25</sup> وموت<sup>26</sup> وقتل<sup>27</sup>  
وسفك<sup>28</sup> دما كثيرة\* وفي ذلك الزمان تكون الناس طعاما لطير<sup>29</sup>  
السماء وسباع الارض ويشتد نيرهم اكثر ما<sup>30</sup> كان قبلهم<sup>31</sup> سبعة  
اضعاف وتبيع الناس<sup>32</sup> كل شى<sup>33</sup> يملكوه من اجل الخراج وادا  
فنى\*<sup>34</sup> كل شى\* لهم باعوا بنيهم\* وبناتهم بسبب الجربة.

D 4 كل بلد X; بلدا بلد D 3\* كثيرة X 2 كثير X 1  
لان العرب يقتلوا املكهم D 6\* تكثر الشدايد + X 5 سنين  
D 11\* ملك D 10 يكون ابطال X 9 اسبوعا D 8 وتقتل X 7  
D 14 يخرج X 13 كنز D 12 اوليك الدي X; اوليك الدينا  
ويملكونها X; D 17\* الدي به D 16 وعند X 15 ضهرة  
ينتخر X 21 فعند D 20 X; وفي البحر D 19 وكلما D 18\*  
جزع X 25 امامهم D 24 بل يكون D 23 يشبعهم DX 22  
لطير DX 29 الدما D 28\* والقتل D 27 الموت ايضا D 26  
[thus the MS. — Ed.] كل قنايهم (و) + D 32 D 31 مما X 30  
حتى بنيهم D 35\* كلما يملكونه X; وكل شيا D 34\* D 33\*

تم يهربون<sup>1</sup> من بلد الى بلد من كثرة الظلم والخراج<sup>2</sup> واد  
 انقطعوا رجائهم ولم ينفعهم هروبهم<sup>3</sup> شيئا<sup>4</sup> وادا لم يبق لهم شيئا  
 يرجعوا اليه\* فعند ذلك كل من ليس له امانة وثيقة<sup>5</sup> واثقين  
 صالح<sup>6</sup> بربنا يسوع المسيح ولا يعرف الغاية والعاقبة والمكافاة  
 الذى يجزى<sup>7</sup> الله<sup>8</sup> بها الصديقين\* كما قال فى الانجيل<sup>9</sup> المقدس  
 عن الدين\* يصبرون على<sup>10</sup> الشدايد والجوع والعطش<sup>11</sup> يكثر  
 برهم والدين ثم خلاف ذلك ولم يكن فيهم صبر\* ادا<sup>12</sup> لحقهم  
 هذا<sup>13</sup> يكفرون<sup>14</sup> بالمسيح ولم يدكرونها\* ما صنع بهم<sup>15</sup> فانه  
 اشتراهم\* (fol. 169 b) بدمه<sup>16</sup> وخلصهم بنفسه ولا يفكرون فى  
 مكافاته لهم. بعد ذلك ادا هم صبروا<sup>17</sup> على الشدايد الجارية

شى D \* 4 هربهم X 3 وطلب الجراح D 2 يهربوا X 1  
 شى ولم يبق لهم شى يرجعوا اليه X ; ولم يبر لهم ما يرجون  
 D 9 للصديقين D \* 8 يجازى D 7 X ; قوى D 6 D 5  
 D X \* 12 تلك D + 11 والدين D X \* 10 انجيله X ; الانجيل  
 بسيدهم ثم لم يدكرونها D \* 15 الم D + هكدا X 14 وادا X 13  
 اشتراهم X ; لانه اشتراهم D \* 16 بالمسيح ولا بدكرونها X  
 لانها (لان X) مخن جارية عليهم تمر D X \* 18 الكريم D + 17  
 بهم ويغفر لهم (وتغ' X) منا (X) الحنطة (X) وتسبكه (وتسكبهم D)  
 وتصقيهم (X) كالابريز الذى (X) يثبت ولا يحترق ويجود  
 ويكون (X) امره محمود (ويكون محمود X) والمضطهدون  
 للمضطهدين (X) الذى ادا لحقهم هذه الروايق (اللواحق X)  
 والهوان (واهوان D) من العرب طلبوا الغز (الفر X) وذهبوا  
 (وهربوا X) اليهم وتركوا السجود الى الشرق وبادوا زوايا العالم  
 وبادوا نواحي الدنيا وبادوا لركان (الر' X) السما والارض وبادوا



عليهم\* والدين لهم امانة قوية<sup>1</sup> ويقين<sup>2</sup> حسن ورجاء صالح<sup>3</sup>  
 ربنا يسوع المسيح<sup>4</sup> يكافئهم عن صبرهم من اجله<sup>5</sup> ويباركهم<sup>6</sup>  
 ويبارك<sup>7</sup> بيوتهم<sup>8</sup> وبنوهم<sup>9</sup> وبناتهم\* ومنزلهم<sup>10</sup> وقرانهم وارضيتهم<sup>11</sup>  
<sup>11</sup> ويخلصهم من عبودية العرب\* ومن ظلم بنى هاشم وعند  
 ذلك تزداد<sup>12</sup> بنو هاشم فرح على فرح<sup>13</sup> وعظمة على عظمة\*  
 وتجبر على<sup>14</sup> تجبر<sup>14</sup> ويجربون المدن<sup>15</sup> الكبار<sup>16</sup> التي<sup>17</sup> كانت فيها\*  
 الملوك القدام<sup>18</sup> ويكون عظما وهم\* في بابل مكتفين<sup>19</sup> مقيددين  
 بالحديد<sup>20</sup> وتمتلى ارض بابل من الناس من<sup>21</sup> كل امة\* من  
 اربع<sup>22</sup> افاق الدنيا\* وفي ذلك الزمان تنقطع<sup>24</sup> حكمة الحكماء  
 وتفتخر<sup>25</sup> الحمقا ويصير العالم حقيرا<sup>26</sup> والعادل جاهلا والعفيف

بحر (بحرى X) الفلك ومدبر (و X) العالم بحكمة احكم الحاكمين  
 ثم يسجدون للبرية

انه D + 4 صحيح D + 3 ويقينا D 2 ثابتة D + 1  
 DX \* 8 وتركهم DX 7 و DX 6 وامانتهم به DX + 5  
 وهروبهم من بلد الى بلد عراه D \* 11 وارضهم X 10 و X 9  
 حفاه جباه عطاش وهم مترجين رحمته معتقدين بخلاصة لهم  
 وهربهم من بلد الى بلد X ; وعودتهم من عبودية العرب  
 عراه حفاه جيا عطاش وترجائهم خلاصة وخلصهم من عبودية  
 البلاد D 15 و D 14 وعظم شان D \* 13 يزداد X 12 العرب  
 وتكون خراب D \* 18 الذى D 17 الذين كانوا فيها X \* 16  
 + DX 20 مكبلين D 19 ويصيرون في بابل ويبنون المدن  
 وتبطل (ولتخضع X) لبابل مدن (مدين X) الملوك وتسجد لها  
 تبطل D 24 انظار العالم X \* 23 اربعة D 22 ساير الامم D \* 21  
 حقير D 26 ويفتخر X 25

ابله<sup>1</sup> والحق باطلا<sup>2</sup> والباطل حقا<sup>3</sup>. هذا كله يكون في ذلك  
الزمان صوابا عند الناس لانهم جعلوا لانفسهم نواميس واحكاما  
غير معقولة<sup>4</sup> ويصير الحق ونواميس جاهلة<sup>5</sup> وترتفع<sup>6</sup> الرحمة  
من<sup>7</sup> الناس حتى الاباء<sup>8</sup> لا يرحمون<sup>9</sup> ابنايهم والابنا<sup>10</sup> لا يرحمون  
ابائهم<sup>11</sup> والاخ يكذب اخاه ويهين قرابته<sup>12</sup> والاشجار لا تثمر  
والارض لا تعطى<sup>13</sup> غلاتها<sup>14</sup> والبرارى والجبال (fol. 170a) لا تعطى  
زرعها<sup>15</sup> والامطار لا تكون<sup>16</sup> في وقتها ويصير الصيف في الشتاء  
والشتا<sup>17</sup> في الصيف وفي<sup>18</sup> ذلك الزمان ليس تكون<sup>19</sup> سنة الا  
وباتى فيها رجز<sup>20</sup> الله على الارض اما بردا<sup>21</sup> واما جليدا واما  
حرا او جرادا او وبا او قتل او خراب وتظهر علامات في السماء

تصير عند D \* 4 حق D 3 باطل D 2 ابلها D 1  
ويصير عند الناس مظيعة بالعقل ويصير X; الناس مطاعة بالعقل  
ويرتفع X 5 ناموس الحق واحكامها جهلا متقمع عن العقل  
البنين X; الابنا والاولاد D \* 8 والاباء DX \* 7 بين + D 6  
X 11 القريب قريبة D 10 الابا X; ابائهم D 9 والبنين  
والشتى X 14 تا D 13 ولا عشبها ينبت D \* 12 تودى  
واما جليد D \* 18 من + D 17 يكون D 16 في DX 15  
واما صقيع يابس او عصارة او دم او جراد او خراب او وبى  
او علامات تحدث في السماء واما تظلم الشمس والقمر او تحدث  
جليد X; قرابا من السما او رياح مختلفة او تنير الكواكب  
وعصارة واما حرا واما جرادا او قتل او خراب واما وبا واما  
علامات في السماء او تظلم الشمس والقمر واما ينحدر تراب من  
السما وتظلم وينحدر تراب من السما واما تنتشر الكواكب.  
The reading تنير in D is not certain; it may be تنتشر

وتظلم وينحدر تراب من السماء وما تثير الكواكب.\*<sup>1</sup> عند ذلك\* تكثر العرب كنجوم<sup>2</sup> السماء ورمل<sup>3</sup> البحر تبنا<sup>4</sup> المساجد على ابواب الكنائس وفي الاسواق<sup>5</sup> وفي<sup>6</sup> المواضع ووسط الارض وبين المقابر\*<sup>7</sup> وعلى الاحاجير\*<sup>8</sup> والنازل<sup>9</sup> والبيوت وادا سمعوا صوت<sup>10</sup> المودن<sup>11</sup> خرجوا<sup>12</sup> الى الصلاة\* بسرعة الى المسجد ويمتلى منهم حتى<sup>13</sup> يقفوا خارج المسجد صفوفًا<sup>14</sup> فادا عملوا هكذا اعلمو<sup>15</sup> ان<sup>16</sup> قد دنا تمام ملكهم وخرجهم [من]<sup>17</sup> بلاد الشام الى بلاد<sup>18</sup> ابايهم وهاشم يولد سبع<sup>19</sup> ملوك<sup>20</sup> واحد باسمين<sup>21</sup> واثنين باسم واثنين<sup>22</sup> في التوراة وواحد بثلاثة<sup>23</sup> علامات<sup>24</sup> وواحد بسبع علامات لاسمه.\* فادا تمت هذه الامور<sup>25</sup> اعلمو<sup>26</sup> انه<sup>27</sup> قد دنا<sup>28</sup> ملك بني هاشم وعند ذلك<sup>29</sup> ينتبهون<sup>30</sup> بعض<sup>31</sup> على بعض كمثل المنتبهة<sup>32</sup> من النوم وكل احد<sup>33</sup> يقول عن نفسه ان الملك لى<sup>34</sup> ويجرضهم<sup>35</sup> الله بالغضب\* بعضهم<sup>36</sup>

ومثل رمل DX 3 مثل نجوم DX 2 فعند هذا كله D 1\* كل + D 6 في الاسواق وفي وسط الارض والمقابر \* 5 وتبنا DX 4 ) D 9 مع النازل D 8 وعلى الاحاجير X والاحاجير D 7\* حتى D ; الى ان X 12 يجروا D 11 جروا كلهم الى الصلوات X 10\* Read- 16 انه D 15 فاعلموا DX 14 صفوفًا صفوفًا X 13 انهم ing of D 20 يكون + D 19 سبعة X 18 موضع D 17 اخر D 23 بستت D 22 يكون + D 21 يسما ياسمين كلها + X 24 وواحد بسبعة علامات اسمه X ; بسبعة يكون اسمه يختلفون D 28 ايضا + D 27 تم DX 26 فاعلموا DX 25 ويرضى D 32 واحد X 31 المشبه D 30 بعضا X 29 ويقوسون بعضا X 34 ويجرضهم X 33 الله في قلوبهم الغضب

على بعض ويكون<sup>1</sup> هلاكهم وفناهم<sup>2</sup> فيه<sup>3</sup> ويطرحون حيف  
 بعضهم على (fol. 170b) بعض.\*<sup>5</sup> وعند ذلك\* يوخذ ملكهم<sup>6</sup>  
 ويعطى المهدي\* ابن علي ابن<sup>8</sup> فاطمة<sup>9</sup> ويحيى<sup>10</sup> اليهم من  
 الغرب من جبل نانوس<sup>11</sup> ويكافئهم مثل عمالهم<sup>12</sup> ويقطع مدن  
 واصوارها وحصونها وتصير لطير\* السماء مسكنا ويتم عليها  
 قول داود النبي<sup>14</sup> الويل لك يا بابل\* الويل لك يا شنعار  
 ومدينة الكلدانيين ويكون<sup>16</sup> في ايام المهدي ابن فاطمة  
 خلاص وسلام<sup>17</sup> لم يكون في العالم مثله\* وهو يحفظ وصية  
 حمد ابيه<sup>18</sup> وبنوه من بعده<sup>19</sup> ويكون من\* حمد الاول الى  
 حمد الاخر<sup>20</sup> الذي فيه\* يتم ملكهم اربعة وعشرون ملكا من  
 بني محمد.

عند ذلك يخرج من بني سفقان<sup>21</sup> <sup>22</sup> من الغرب لابس\*  
 لبس الدم ويطرد<sup>23</sup> بني اسماعيل الى جبل اترب<sup>24</sup> ويقتلون

X ; D 3 وفناهم D 2 وهذا يكون سبب D ; ويكونوا X 1  
 منهم DX + 6 فعند هذا D 5\* على بعضهم بعض \* 4 وبهم  
 ويعطى للمهدي X ; وينتزع سلطانهم ويطلع المهدي D 7\*  
 ; تابوس D 11 يحيى X ; لانه يحيى D 10 ؟ وفاطمة D 9 X 8  
 ويقطع مدن وعمدة اصوار D 13\* اعمالهم DX 12 بانوس X  
 and then as in text , ويقطع X ; ويهدم الحصون وتصير الطائر  
 D 17\* وبعد ذلك كله يكون D 16 X 15\* القايل DX + 14  
 لم يكن مثله في اول العالم X ; لم يكن مثله قط في العالم  
 سفيان X ; سيفقان D 21 D 20\* ومن D 19\* جده D 18  
 ; ثم انه يطرد D 23 من العرب اللابس X 22\* رجلا + D  
 اتريب X 24 ويطردون X

الرجال<sup>1</sup> والنساء والمشايخ والصبيان<sup>2</sup> ولا يشفقون\* عليهم<sup>1</sup>.  
 عند ذلك<sup>3</sup> يأتى من الغرب<sup>4</sup> الدين<sup>5</sup> ثم صفرانا\* المغربى  
 ويدخلون ارض الموعد ويبلغون ارض<sup>6</sup> الشام وينكسرون<sup>7</sup> من  
 الاسد وهو المهدي ابن عايشة ويكون حرده وغضبه على  
 بنو<sup>8</sup> اسماعيل<sup>9</sup> والنصارى ويهدم\* الكنائس والديارات ويطرح<sup>10</sup>  
 المدائح وتكون<sup>11</sup> شدة عظيمة في العالم لم يكن مثلها<sup>12</sup> والدين  
 يموتون<sup>13</sup> من الجوع\* اكثر من<sup>14</sup> الدين يموتون<sup>15</sup> بالسيف  
 (fol. 171a) وكثيرين<sup>16</sup> من بنى<sup>17</sup> الكنيسة يظلمون<sup>18</sup> عن<sup>19</sup> الحق  
 ويذهبون<sup>20</sup> الى الشياطين<sup>21</sup> ويدبحون لها\* وفي تلك الايام<sup>22</sup>  
 تقول الناس للجبال اسقطى علينا<sup>23</sup> وللروابي اطمرونا ومن  
 صبر للاخير† فهو يحيى\*. فادا حل هذا جميعه اعلموا<sup>24</sup>  
 انه<sup>26</sup> قد دنا خراب الدنيا. فحينئذ<sup>27</sup> يقبل مثل الشمس اجود  
 الملوك<sup>28</sup> من المشرق<sup>29</sup> وهو<sup>30</sup> لابس لباسا<sup>31</sup> اخضر ويكون

4 X هذا 3 D بغير شفقة D; ولا يشفقون 2\* X 1 D )  
 6 X ) الدين ثم صفرانا (المغربى) X; والدى هوسفران 5\* D العرب  
 والنصارى 9\* D بنى 8 D ثم ينكسرون X; ثم يكسرون 7 D  
 13\* X قط + 12 D فيكون 11 D وتطرح 10 D ايضا وتنهدم  
 وكثير X; وكثيرون 16 D يقتلون DX 15 ممن 14 X بالجوع  
 20 D عن مهج (?) 19 D يصلون 18 D اولاد + 17 D  
 يكون هذا كله و + 22 X وياصغون 21\* D ويذهبن  
 24† X وللأكام غطونا ومن صبر الى المنتها يخلص 23\* D  
 وادا كانت هذه الشدايد كلها وهذه DX 25\* آمن الى الآخر  
 فعند ذلك 27 D ان 26 X (( X الاخران فاعلموا (ف X)  
 لباس 31 D ) DX 30 الشرق 29 D واكرمهم + 28 D عند ذلك X

صلاح<sup>1</sup> في العالم<sup>2</sup> لم يكن مثله قط.<sup>3</sup> وتبنا البيع<sup>4</sup> ويظهر الحق ويقوم ملك من بنى اسماعيل ويقتل الروم ويملكوا العالم اسبوع ونصف سابوع.\*

عند<sup>5</sup> ذلك تضطرب\* ارياح السماء<sup>6</sup> وتقوم الممالك\* بعضها على بعض\* وتجي الترك الدين ثم مثل<sup>8</sup> الدياب<sup>9</sup> وتجارب بعضها بعض\* وتفتح<sup>11</sup> ابواب الخزي<sup>12</sup> ويخرج<sup>13</sup> اجوج<sup>14</sup> وماجوج الدين ثم مثل<sup>8</sup> الكلاب<sup>15</sup> ويقتلون كل بشر\* على الارض. فحينئذ<sup>16</sup> يخرج ابن الهلاك يشبه للتنين<sup>17</sup> ويبلغ الكل بلا رحمة في ساعة ويجمعهم الله الى مكان واحد\* ويبعث<sup>19</sup> عليهم ملاك جزة فيقتلهم<sup>20</sup> ساعة واحدة. عند ذلك يكون<sup>21</sup> عند<sup>22</sup> القديسين فرح\* عظيم لا يبطل الى الابد وعند الخطاة<sup>23</sup> عذابا وبكا وصرير الاسنان الى الابد.\*

يتم فيه ملك D 4 > X 3 باسرة + D 2 صلاحا D 1  
ويظهر X; بنى اسماعيل ويطلعوا الروم ويملون العالم سابوع  
الحق ويتم فيه ملك بنى اسماعيل ويقتلون الروم ويملكون  
وتقوم X 6\* عند هذا مضطرب D 5\* البلاد والعالم سابوع  
X 9 > D 8 على بعضهم بعضا X; د' مع د' D 7\* > D; الملوك  
D 12 وتنفخ X 11 ويحارب بعضهم مع بعض D 10\* الدباب  
ويعملون الشرور كلها D 15\* جوج X 14 وتجي X 13 الغرب  
X + الكبير + D 17 عند ذلك DX 16 ويقبلون بكل شر X  
ساعة واحدة وان الله سبحانه يجمعهم الى موضع D 18\* العظيم  
القديسين D 22\* تكون D 21 في + DX 20 ويرسل X 19 واحد  
ويصير D 24\* الخاطيين X 23 للقديسين فرح X; بفرحا  
عدابا وبكا وصرير الى الابد

<sup>1</sup> فاما انا\* مرهب الراهب<sup>2</sup> اقامت في الدير (fol. 171 b) مع بحيرة<sup>3</sup> مدة طويلة وحدثني ووصف لي<sup>4</sup> هذه القصة وكل هذا الخبر\* رايته<sup>5</sup> وشاهدته وبيتين<sup>6</sup> لي احواله واسبابه<sup>7</sup> وتحقيقه بامره بين يديه\* وقال<sup>8</sup> لي لا تلموني انت ولا<sup>9</sup> يلمنى الذي يسمعه فيما قد فعلته ووضعت<sup>10</sup>.\*

<sup>11</sup> قال مرهب بعد فروغ النبوة التي تنبا بها بحيرة تنهد وبكا على ما فعله من الخطية الخالفة لله فبكيت عليه وقلت الله يرحم\* عبده الذي يؤمنون بقيامته. فالتفت<sup>12</sup>. فقال لي يا اخي مرهب<sup>13</sup> اعلم ان دنوبي جلبت علي<sup>14</sup> بما فعلته وتضمنه هذا الكتاب وانه\* سوف<sup>15</sup> يقع في يد كثير من النصارى

هذه D \* 4 بحريا (!) D 3 الخاطي + X 2 وانا X ; انا D \* 1  
X 5 هذه الصفة وهذا الخبر كله X ; القصة وهذا الخبر كله  
وبين يديه DX \* 7 وثبتت احواله X ; وبينت D 6 ورايته  
يلومني كل من D \* 9 وهو يقول X 8 كتبته وبامره حققته  
قال D \* 11 وضعت X 10 يسمعها لاجل ما فعلته وتمتته  
مرهب ان من بعد ما فزعت النبوة الذي تنبا بها بحيرا  
تنهد. ثم بكا بكاء عظيم فقلت له. لما ذا هذا البكاء فقال  
لي على خطيتي التي فعلتها ولم يامرني الله بها فاقبلت  
قال مرهب الراهب اشهد لك X ; عليه وقلت له الله يرحم  
يا اخوتي انه بعد ما فرغ يكلمني بكلام هذه النبوة جميعه  
لحد يتنهد ويبكي على الخطية التي فعلها ولم يامر الله  
ثم D ; فالتفت الى X 12 بها فاقبله عليه وقلت له الله يرحم  
هذا الامر كله الذي شرحته DX \* 14 انا + X 13 انه التفت الى  
( X 15 لك باول (في اعلا X) كتابي هذا. وانا اعلم انه

يلوموني على صنعى الذى صنعته بهم لانى اعلم انى قد ايدت عليهم اعدا الى فنا دولته وانقضاهما وسوف يلحقهم فى اخر مدته ما ليس لهم به طاقة من الدل وانا قبل ان ارى هذه الرويا الذى رايتها فى طور سيناء درست ساير كتب نبوات

يكون فى ايديهم سيفاً قاطع على اعدائهم الخارجين I \* D  
من الناموس وكثيرا منهم اذا سمعوا فى جماعة الناس تسر به وتبتهج لما وهبه المسيح من الحكمة فى دينه وكثيرا منهم يلوموني على ما قد صنعته بهم لانى اعلم انى قد جلبت عليهم اعداء الى حين فنا دولتهم وهى انقضا سنة الخبر وسوف يلحقهم فى اواحي هذه بمدّة (?) هذا الذى قد رايت فى طور سيناء واني درست ساير كتب من التوراة وكتب الانبياء وما صنعتها الحكماء من الحكمة وهبوط الكواكب بعضها على ويكون فى ايديهم x ; بعض وصعود بنى اسماعيل الدين م شيعه وسيفاً قاطع على اعدائهم الخارجين عن الناموس وكثيرا منهم اذا سمعوا ما قلت تسر وتبتهج قلوبهم لما وهبه المسيح من الحكمة من دينه الحكيم وكثيرا منهم يلوموني على صنعى الذى صنعته بهم لانى اعلم انى قد تعدير عليهم. وكتبت لهم انما تحققت ان عند انقضا تلك المدّة يقع عليهم كل هذه الاخران والشدايد التى لا يطيقونها حملها ولكن ليس منى هذا غير اننى قلت ذلك قبل ان اسبق ورايت من الرويا ما رايت بطور سيناء كنت درست اساور الكتب من التورات وكتب الانبياء وما وصفته الانبياء وما وصفته الحكماء من الحكمة وهبوط الكواكب بعضها على بعض وصعود ملك بنى اسمعيل الذى م



الانبياء والتوراة وما وصفته الحكماء من الحكمة لقران الكواكب بعضها لبعض بايترانها واحكامها وما دل عليه لملك بنى اسماعيل الدين \* ثم اشرار الناس وما سلطه الله القوى على عبيده. تم بعد ذلك نظرت الرويا الذى <sup>1</sup> شرحتها <sup>2</sup> فى كتابى هذا بطور سينا وامرت ان افعل <sup>3</sup> الذى فعلته المتقدم <sup>4</sup> (fol. 172 a) ذكره <sup>5</sup> من امر الملوك <sup>6</sup> الذى <sup>7</sup> ضمنته الكتاب بلا خفية \* فاكذب عنى تمام خطيتى وما <sup>8</sup> قد وصفته فى الكتاب الذى قد جعلته يشهد له فيه <sup>9</sup> بالنبوة والرسالة وبما <sup>10</sup> قد اجترت <sup>11</sup> على الله فيه وعلى <sup>12</sup> سيدى والاهى <sup>13</sup> المسيح بعد ان حرصت <sup>14</sup> ان تكون نبوته باسم التالوت \* الموحد <sup>15</sup> الاب والابن والروح القدس <sup>16</sup> اذ <sup>17</sup> لا يستطيع <sup>18</sup> يذكر ذلك من كثرة جزمى \* وجزمته <sup>19</sup> على الله لاني <sup>20</sup> اردت ان اثبت \* ملك بنى اسماعيل <sup>21</sup> لكى يتم وعد الله لابراهيم فى اسماعيل \* ولا اشرع <sup>22</sup> فى شىء \* سواه فشرعت <sup>23</sup> له النبوة وجعلت له كتابا <sup>24</sup> وجعلت

من ما (X) DX 4 يفعل D 3 لك X + 2 التى D 1  
 X 6 فى اعلا كتابى هذا X فى كتابى هذا + D 5 قد تقدم  
 بر لهم بلا حيفة X مضيت اليهم بلا خوف D \* 7 القول  
 الاهى + X 11 اجرمت X ; جرمت D 10 DX ) بما DX 8  
 X \* 14 جرمت واجتهدت كل جهدى D 13 يسوع DX 12  
 DX 15 تكون نمى تمسل للتالوت D ; يكون بينه باسم التالوت  
 الاله الواحد ولم يكن يقدر على D ; اله واحد + X 16 الواحد  
 D \* 20 X ) ذكره ابدا بجرمى D \* 18 و D 17 ذلك  
 بشى D \* 22 ) D \* 21 امرت ان اثبت X ; اسرت انى اتيت  
 الكتاب X 24 شرعة X ; فاننى شرعت D 23

منزل<sup>1</sup> في الوحى اليه<sup>2</sup> وذلك ليتم قول ربنا المسيح<sup>3</sup> في الانجيل المقدس<sup>4</sup> سيايتكم من بعدى. الانبياء\* الكدبة<sup>5</sup> الويل<sup>6</sup> لمن يتبعهم<sup>7</sup> وقد جعلت اكثر هذا الكتاب بذكر اللاهوت والناسوت وام النور<sup>8</sup> الطاهرة وجميع العجايب الدي<sup>9</sup> صنعها في بنى اسراييل واكدت اللعنة<sup>10</sup> على بنى اسراييل وقربت اليه النصارى.

<sup>9</sup>فانى الى بعد ايام وذكر ان احكامه لا يستطيع احدا منهم يذكر الدي كنت بينت له من الاشياء الحقية\* وانهم لا يحبوا<sup>10</sup> عبادة اوتافهم وذلك ليتم قول<sup>11</sup> ربنا المسيح\* في الانجيل<sup>12</sup> لا يستطيع (fol. 172 b) احدا من<sup>2</sup> هؤلاء<sup>3</sup> ياتى الى<sup>13</sup> لا من اختارة الاب الدي في السماء. وكتبت له قول\* هو الله احد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفوا احد. وقلت له قول لهم قد انزلت هذه الاية على ذلك ان تجربى<sup>14</sup>

حيث يقول ستانى في الانبياء D 3 \* > D 2 منزل 1  
والويل الطويل D 5 وكدبة D 4 ان سيايتى بعدى انبيا X  
وبهذا ومثله كتبت كما اعلنت لكم في الفصل 6 X adds here  
الاول المكتوب وتجريت واختتمته بقولى الله الصمد لم يلد ولم  
يولد ولم يكن له كفوا احد وبقولى ايضا يا عيسى ابن مريم  
التي D 8 السيدة D 7 + and omits all down to p. 93 l. 3  
ومضيت عنه وفيها انا يعص ايام وادا به قد اتانى وذكر D 9 \*  
ان احكامه ما منهم احدا يذكر الدي كنت تبته لى في الحفاء  
المقدس + D 12 سيدنا ومخاصنا له الحمد D 11 \* الا + D 10  
الا من اجتد به الاب واختاره وكتبت D 13 \* حيث قال انه  
يجربى D 14 له ايضا هذا قل

على الله شبهته<sup>1</sup> بالدى كانوا يعبدوه وجعلته صمداً<sup>2</sup> مفرداً  
لا يسمع ولا يبصر<sup>3</sup> نرى الحجر\* وذلك كله بانقطاع رجائ<sup>4</sup>  
وكتبت له ايضاً يا عيسى ابن مريم انت قلت للناس اتحدوني  
انا وامى الاهيين من دون الله فقال<sup>5</sup> سبحانك ما قلت<sup>6</sup> ما  
ليس لى بحق ان كنت قلتك فقد علمته\* تعلم<sup>7</sup> ما فى نفسى  
<sup>8</sup> ولا اعلم\* ما فى نفسك سبحانك<sup>9</sup> انت علام الغيوب. وجعلت  
الرد عليه<sup>10</sup> وتوبيخ وكثير لهذا\* اوله واخره وكذلك<sup>11</sup> انه  
تجرى<sup>12</sup> على الاب والابن والروح القدس وقلت هذا الذى  
قلت.<sup>13</sup> وكتبت له ايضاً فيه والدى يومئذ<sup>14</sup> بما انزل اليك<sup>15</sup>  
وبما<sup>16</sup> انزل من قبلك الحق<sup>17</sup> ولكن<sup>18</sup> اكثرهم لا يعلمون اننى<sup>19</sup>  
اعنيت<sup>20</sup> بذلك الانجيل الطاهر المقدس<sup>17</sup> وانه الحق وان الذى

3\* D صمداً 2 D وتعدى عليه بانى قد شبهته 1 D  
7 X علمته (D) ; 6\* X قال 5 X منه + D 4 نرى حجر  
وتوبيخا 10\* D انك + D 9 انا لا اعلم 8\* X انت تعلم  
قد قلت 13 D يجرى X ; ? يجزى 12 D وذلك 11 DX كثير هذا  
على الله وشبهته بالدى كان يعبدوه وجعلته صمداً + and then  
وفرداً لا يسمع ولا يبصر نرى الحجر وذلك كله يقطع رجائ  
منه ثم كتبت له ايضاً يا عيسى ابن مريم ان قلت للناس  
اتحدوني انا وامى الاهيين من دون الله فقال سبحانك ما  
قلت ما ليس لى. بحق (?) ان كنت قلتك فقد تعلم ما فى  
نفسى ولا اعلم ما فى نفسك سبحانك انت علام الغيوب وجعلت  
15 D يامن 14 X الرد عليه وتوبيخ كثير لهذا اوله واخره.  
انما 19 DX لكن 18 DX 17 D وما 16 DX عليك  
20 X عنيت

انزل عليه باطل<sup>1</sup> من قول رجل<sup>2</sup> كذاب مريب<sup>3</sup> خاطى على نفسه ويسال<sup>4</sup> الله غفران الخطيئة<sup>5</sup> التى<sup>6</sup> اخطاها<sup>7</sup> وانا اقول له<sup>8</sup> الله غفور<sup>9</sup> رحيم.

تم<sup>10</sup> التفت الى وقال لى يا هذا (fol. 173a) الرجل ان كل الناس اخطوا اخطا<sup>8</sup> يوملون<sup>11</sup> بعده<sup>12</sup> الرحمة من ربهم. فاما انا فاخيط<sup>13</sup> خطيئة<sup>14</sup> وليس<sup>15</sup> بعدها من المغفرة<sup>16</sup> وذلك انى ابتديت له بامر<sup>17</sup> شنيع عظيم<sup>18</sup> وانى مكنت<sup>19</sup> هواى<sup>19</sup> وعلمت<sup>20</sup> ما ساعدتنى عليه نفسى الحبيطة<sup>21</sup> الشيطانية يا مرهب<sup>22</sup> ما<sup>23</sup> نرى<sup>24</sup> الى قولى وخبت<sup>25</sup> نفسى وكيف خرجت من ديارى<sup>25</sup> وصرت الى هذه البرية القفوة<sup>26</sup> الحاروية<sup>26</sup> وزرعت<sup>27</sup> فيها زرع<sup>28</sup> خبيت يبقى على طول الايام ويدكر<sup>29</sup> الزارع<sup>30</sup> والزوان الذى زرعه<sup>31</sup> والقيت نفسى بهذا الزرع فى نار<sup>32</sup> لا يطفى لهيبها<sup>33</sup>. وخرجت من<sup>34</sup> الجراف شبه الظال<sup>35</sup> وبقيت<sup>36</sup> مديون بخطيتى<sup>36</sup> الذى\*

واما انا اسال D 4 مذيب D 3 رجلا D 2 هو الباطل D 1  
غفوراً D 9 D 8 اخطيتها D 7 الذى X 6 حطايأة X 5  
فانى اخطيت D 13 الخطاء + D 12 بها + X 11 انه D 10  
الرحمة D 16 وليست X 15 حطية ما لها مغفرة D 14  
وعلمت DX 20 منه + D 19 وكنت قد مكنت D \* 18 بامراً  
اننى اقول X \* 24 اما D 23 اخى + X 22 الحبيشة D 21  
القفو D 26 وصرة الى القورا الحاروية X \* 25 الى حبت D ; حبت  
X 30 وسوف تذكر تلك D 29 زرعاً D 28 حتى زرعت D 27  
لا يطمئنى (?) لهيبها X \* 33 ناراً D 32 زرعت DX 31 الزرع  
من D 34 الانطفى وقيدها ولا تحمد لهيبها ولا يهدا ذفيرها D  
بدنوبى وحطيتى التى DX \* 36 الضال D 35 بين

فعلتها مع ربى والاهى وبقولى عنه<sup>1</sup> ما لم يومرنى\* به<sup>2</sup> فى النبوة فى ايام<sup>3</sup> هذا الرجل المدعى<sup>4</sup> النبوة والرسالة وذلك بقولى له<sup>5</sup> والباب الذى فتحت له<sup>6</sup> على نفسى وعلى غيرى وهو اشد الابواب. وجعلت<sup>7</sup> الباطل حقا وحققت الحمال والقيت على خراف المسيح<sup>8</sup> دياب ناهشة\* وافاعى<sup>9</sup> وسباع كاسرة\*. والقيت على الشعب السليم شعب<sup>11</sup> ما رد خبيت. وجعلتهم منكسين وروسهم<sup>12</sup> تحت ملك غيرهم والزمتهم ايضا جزية يودوها<sup>13</sup> طول ايام حياتهم ونكدت عليهم<sup>6</sup> عيشتهم<sup>14</sup> (fol. 173 b) فمن عمل هذا الذى<sup>15</sup> وصفته لك ما<sup>16</sup> يرجوا بعد ذلك من الله ومن مسيحه الذى ارملة لخلاص<sup>17</sup> العالم ورحمة.<sup>18</sup> فطوبا لمن صبر على ذلك من عبيده فى طول الايام لملك هولاء القوم. هى\* تمام<sup>20</sup> سنية الاخرة.\*

<sup>21</sup> فقلت له انا مرهب ارجوا رحمة الله والذى ادراك اياته

D 3 فى ذلك D; من X 2 ما (بما D) لم يامرني DX 1\*  
 ان جعلت X 7 D 6 > X 5 المدهى X 4 امر X; باب  
 ;تلسعهم مع سباع نفسهم D 10\* ذبابا تهاة D 9\* الرب D 8  
 يودونها D 13 الروس D 12 . شعبا D 11 ودياب يكسرها X  
 بعد خلاص X 17 فكيف D 16 قد + D 15 عيشهم D 14  
 فطوبا لمن صبر من عبيد المسيح D 19\* اورا انه (?) + D; X 18  
 ;المومنين المعترفين باسمه فى طول ملك هولاء القوم وهو  
 طوبا لمن صبر من عبيده طول الايام التى يملك فيها X  
 فقال مرهب X 21\* سنة الاحيرة X 20\* هولاء القوم وهى  
 الراهب وهذا لما قاله لى بحزن. قلت له لا تخزن يا احى

في السماء\* وخصك بروياه عن كثير من خلقه وهو الذي بقبل  
 توبة من تاب اليه ولو قبل الموت بيسير\* فطابت نفسه  
 بهذا الكلام. وقال لي<sup>2</sup> اكتب ما بقي من الامر. ثم قال بحيرة<sup>3</sup>  
 الراهب بعد هذا اتاني وهو يبكي. وقال لي انت الذي فعلت<sup>5</sup>  
 بي هذا الامر يا راهب. فقلت له ما<sup>6</sup> هو. فقال لي قالوا لي  
 احببي وبنى عمي كل نبي<sup>8</sup> جا صنع عجائب\* من احياء  
 الميت واطهار العجائب<sup>9</sup> وغير ذلك وانت لم<sup>10</sup> تاتي بشي من  
 ذلك<sup>12</sup> وليس نقبل منك نبوة<sup>13</sup> دون ان تبرهن لنا برهاناً.\*  
 فقلت له انا اكنيك هذا الامر ان شا الله تعالى. فكتبت له  
 ما صنعنا نرسل<sup>15</sup> الايات التي اللاتي\* كذب<sup>16</sup> بها الاولون  
 ولقد اتينا تمود ناقة مبصرة فعقرها فدمدم عليها ربك\*

ولكن جوا رحمة الله يا اخي الذي اوراك اياته من السماء  
 قال مرهب فقلت له ارجوا رحمة الله الذي اوراك اياته D  
 قبل موته باياما يسيرة X; قبل موته يوماً واحداً D \* 1  
 وما D 6 عملت D 5 ثم انه D 4 بحيرا D 3 يا احي D 2 +  
 قال ان احببي قالوا الي وبنوا (!) عمي واهلي ان كل ذبيبا D 7 \*  
 X 8 + يجي فلا بد لم ان يعمل ايه يروها للناس ويؤمنوا به  
 D 11 \* فلم X 10 والمعجزات D 9 جانا باية من اجيل (!)  
 بشيا من هذا فما تقبلك ولا يكون بيننا وبينك معا صلة  
 X 13 + هذا X 12 وقد خرجت من عندهم وما اعلم ما اعمل  
 ان X 15 وما معنى ان نرسل بالايات التي D 14 \* اذا لم  
 ولقد امنا بمورد ناقة D 17 \* كتبت X 16 (ان read) نرسل  
 تمود ناقة مبصرة X; منصوره (?) وحقرها فدمدم عليهم ربهم  
 ندبحوها وعقرها فدمدم عليهم ربك

وذلك<sup>1</sup> اننى اقصيته بهذا القول لان تمود اوتى ناقة\* من موضع لم يعرفه وغيره اوتى كلام موزون من روح القدس (fol. 174 a) الذى اخبرت بما يكون<sup>2</sup> من قوم\* اخرين احيوا الموتى مثل حزقيال وغيره<sup>3</sup> وهذا الموضع يكره عليه\*.  
 ثم بعد ذلك<sup>4</sup> اتى وقال\* ان قومي فجرة<sup>5</sup> وهم يحبون النكاح. فقلت له<sup>6</sup> في<sup>7</sup> الكتاب<sup>8</sup> حل لهم رباع\*<sup>9</sup> وخميس وسداس وسباع وثمان وتسع<sup>10</sup> وعشار وما زاد على ذلك كان لهم حلال\* وما ملكت ايديهم من الامة<sup>11</sup> من شرا<sup>12</sup> اموالهم. <sup>13</sup> وذلك انه كان قد\* اشترى جارية<sup>14</sup> واحب ان\* يعلم نساء بهذه الاية انها انزلت<sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup> لتطيب نفوسهم\* بذلك عليه بان<sup>17</sup> الله حلل<sup>18</sup> له النكاح وهذا الموضع<sup>19</sup> <sup>20</sup> مكسرة على\* هذا الكتاب. <sup>21</sup> وعملت ايضا\* انه عرج به الى السماء<sup>9</sup> وعرفته ما كنت رايتها وقت طلع بي الملاك الى السماء\*. ووصفت له كل شى<sup>22</sup> حتى<sup>23</sup> لم ابقي<sup>24</sup> شى الا وعرفته اياه\*. وجعلته يقول لهم انى ركبت

اننى X; انى اسقطته بهذا القول ان ثمود اولى ناقة D 1\*  
 فيل ان يكون D 2\* اسقطه بهذا القول لان تمود ناقة اوتى  
 وهذا الموضع فهو مخسرة عليه D 3\* قبل ان يكون و X; وقومي  
 ايضا + X 6 عرب DX 5 احكابي و + X; اتى الى وقال لى DX 4\*  
 D 11 وتساع X 10 > D 9 حلل له اربعة D 8\* هذا + D 7  
 فاحب\* 14 وذلك قلته لان كان X 13\* ? شرى D 12 الاماء  
 وان X 17 ليطيب قلوبهم X 16\* من السماء + D 15 انه  
 D 21\* هو مخسرة عيل (!) D 20\* القول X 19 احل DX 18  
 اننى + X 23 اشيا D 22 وعملت له ايضا X; وعملت له  
 شى الا وقد عرفته به X; شيا ما عرفته اياه D 24\*

البراق الى بيت المقدس<sup>1</sup> وانها سألته<sup>2</sup> ان يعفوا عن دنسها  
 زهي<sup>3</sup> مشرة له<sup>4</sup> لكلامها<sup>5</sup> واشيا في هذا الموضع من الخلف  
 عليهم احتسرت<sup>6</sup> في ذكرها من جبرائيل وغيره وشد البراق  
 ليلا يهرب. فلما قال لاحبابه هذه المقالة<sup>7</sup> كذبوه وقالوا له  
 'ما نريد<sup>8</sup> ان تصف لنا صفة<sup>9</sup> السماء وصف<sup>10</sup> لنا صفة بيت<sup>11</sup>  
 المقدس وما فيها (fol. 174 b) فقال لهم<sup>12</sup> مهلوني الى ان<sup>13</sup>  
 لعل<sup>14</sup> ربي فاجابوه الى<sup>15</sup> ذلك واتى<sup>16</sup> الى وهو حزين<sup>17</sup> فقال لي  
 قد عرفتكم ولم<sup>18</sup> يقبلوا مني<sup>19</sup> شيئا مما قلت<sup>20</sup> \* وقد طلبوا  
 مني صفة بيت المقدس فوصفت<sup>21</sup> له صفة<sup>22</sup> بيت المقدس عن  
 اخبرها<sup>23</sup> \* وقلت له تقول<sup>24</sup> لهم اني سالت ربي فوعدني<sup>25</sup>  
 بارسالها على جناح جبرائيل حتى اصفها لكم شي شي وفعل  
 ما امرته به.

وكتبت له هذه الآية تاكيد<sup>26</sup> لقوله سبحان من اسرى<sup>27</sup>  
 بعيدة ليلا من المسجد الحرام الى المسجد الاقصى الذي باركنا  
 حوله وكتبت له<sup>28</sup> كتاب قاب<sup>29</sup> قوسيين او ادنى<sup>30</sup> وجعلت

1 D شرف منه الى بيت المقدس + X; شرفا منه + D  
 2 X وهو 4 وهذا محسرة له D 3\* وانه سألته (?) X; وانها وسألته  
 له + D 7 واحد X 6 كثيرة + D; لكلامه X; ولكلامه D 5  
 وصف لنا صفة (X) X; فصف D 10 صفاة X 9 آتريد X 8\*  
 ما سألهم DX 14 اسل D 13 امهلوني DX 12\* وبيت X 11  
 شي من D 17\* فلم D 16 القلب + D 15 ثم انه ((X) اني  
 وصف D 20 ثم اني وصفت D 19 (X 18\* جميع ما قلته لهم  
 + D 25 اسرا D 24 تاكيدا D 23 انه + D 22 قل X; قول D 21  
 ادنا D 27 بين + X 26 كان بجميع X; ايضا كان بين الجميع



على<sup>1</sup> كلمن<sup>2</sup> يحيى بعده من امته<sup>3</sup> لا يقف على هذا الموضع ولا يدركه لانه ما طلع ولا نزل ولا تنبا<sup>4</sup> ولا ارسل لكن بامور<sup>5</sup> ربي العظيم تمام ربي الغفور الرحيم وتمت مشيئة الله على يدي وانفاد<sup>6</sup> امره في عبادة.

ثم بعد ايام<sup>7</sup> اتى لى وقال لى<sup>8</sup> مريت على<sup>9</sup> بيت احد احبابى وهو زيد فحكت به فخرجت الى زوجتى فنظرت اليها وقد زال عنها العلم بذلك خوف منى وقد تشغفت<sup>10</sup> بها<sup>11</sup> فاحب ان يدبر لى هذا الامر لانك قد كنيته كل الاسباب<sup>12</sup> ولم يبق شى الا ودبرته لى وبلغتنى امر عظيم وحطر جسيم عند احبابى (fol. 175a) وغيرهم من العرب فقلت له انا اكتب لك اية حتى لا يكون عارا عندهم وتقول لهم نزلت<sup>13</sup> هذه الاية مع جبرائيل. وكتبت له ايضا<sup>14</sup> فلما قضى زيد منها وطرا<sup>15</sup> ووزجناك بها يا محمد وعملت له اشيا كثيرة\* من مثل هذا<sup>16</sup> وكلها لا تشبه النبوة وهى تكرة<sup>17</sup> على احبابه ومن<sup>18</sup> بعده جعلتها. وكتبت له ايضا ان الله يصلى عليه وجعلت<sup>19</sup> فوقه يدا اخرة\*<sup>20</sup> وجميع ما كتبت له بعضه ينقض بعض\* وهذه

6 X باذن 5 X بنى 4 X انبيا 3 X كل 2 D 1 X )  
10 X الى 9 X اننى + 8 X تمام هذا القول 7 X ونفاد  
14 X انزلت على 13 X الاشيا 12 X بجميتها 11 X شغفت  
فزوجنا كما يا محمد وكان الله الخا وجبرائيل 15\* X هكذا  
18 X مكسرة 17 X هذه 16 X الوكيل وكتبت له اشيا كثيرة  
وكتبت له فيه ينقضى 20\* X فوق يد اخرا 19\* X من  
بعضه بعضا

الاية تحل غيرها<sup>1</sup> وجعلت له\* كتابا ليس<sup>2</sup> يشبه كتب\* الانبياء لان ما جا فيها شيئا<sup>3</sup> من هذا وكل كتابا جا صاحبه<sup>4</sup> به بنفسه\* الا هذا فاني<sup>5</sup> كتبت اية واسميتها كهى عص\* واخرى الم ذلك الكتاب لا ريب فيه<sup>6</sup> هداوا للمتقين\*<sup>7</sup> واني<sup>8</sup> ما اعنيت بهذا القول الا للانجيل الطاهر<sup>9</sup> وان احبابه هم المتقين وانه الى امرا<sup>10</sup> ان اب اوله وابن وروح القدس\* وقلت له في هذا الكتاب لا يعلم تفسيره<sup>11</sup> الا الله<sup>12</sup> الحى<sup>13</sup> الراشخون في العلم\*<sup>14</sup> وجعلت كل من يجي من بعده محير<sup>15</sup>\* فيه لانه كتاب لم<sup>16</sup> اجعل له تفسير\* مثل<sup>17</sup> الكتب. وجعلت على كل احد<sup>18</sup> من بعده يفرسه<sup>19</sup> على قدر عقله ولم اجعل له تفسير<sup>20</sup> الا ما في\* (fol. 175 b) كتابي<sup>12</sup> هذا<sup>21</sup> وعلمت انه ايضا شيئا يختلفا نيه\* من بعده ويغيروه<sup>22</sup> ويزيدوا فيه وينقصوا منه ويكتب كل احدا منهم ما احب لنفسه<sup>23</sup> كما<sup>24</sup> قد كتبت في اعلا

شى D 3 على هذا يشبهه بكتب D 2\* وجعلته X 1\*  
 كتبت له اية واسميتها D 5\* فيه بتفسير X; به بتفسير D 4\*  
 D 6\* كتبت له اسمها كهيفض ولم فظه X; حةلى ولم نصه  
 وانت الى ثم ان الم بمعنى الثالث + X; هذا الامتقيين  
 امر D 10 > D 9 وانما D 8 > X 7\* (وقلت له في هذا)  
 X 14\* والزاهدون في العالم D 13\* > X 12 تفسيرها D 11  
 اجعله D 16\* يحيل D 15 وجعلت من بعده فحير(?)  
 من يجي + X; احدا D 18 ما + X; ما في + D 17 مفسرا  
 وقد D 21\* يمتد(?) عليه الا في D 20\* تفسير X; يفسر D 19  
 وعلمت ايضا انه شا X; علمت انشالله تعالى انهم يختلفون  
 بما D 24 من نفسه X 23 ويغيروا D 22 ايضا ان يخلفوا فيه

كتابى هذا امره قبل هذه<sup>1</sup> وقد كشفت فيه حال الاديان ونعمة  
الله علينا نحن معشر النصارى وكيف لطف<sup>2</sup> بنا. فاسال<sup>3</sup>  
الله الذى اراد بقدرته انفاذ حكمته وتمييز عباده بهذا وان<sup>4</sup>  
يخلص الكبار<sup>5</sup> منا والصغار<sup>6</sup> بخلاصه وان يوقيهم<sup>7</sup> شر هذا  
الشعب لانى اعلم انه<sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup> يكون لنا منهم\* اعدا ويخرج منها<sup>10</sup>  
اليهم<sup>11</sup> العير مختارين<sup>12</sup> ولا رحمة فيهم\* فيكون علينا شرهم<sup>13</sup>  
اوكد من شر اوليك الدين<sup>14</sup> سلفوا من قبل.

فانا مرهب<sup>15</sup> الخاطى اقممت فى الدير مع بحيرة<sup>16</sup> الراهب  
زمانا طويلا<sup>17</sup> وحدثنى ووصف لى هذه القصة\* وهذا الخبر  
كله<sup>18</sup> عن اخرة ورايتة وشاهدته وتثبتت<sup>19</sup> احواله واشيائه<sup>20</sup>  
وبين يديه كتبته وبامره نظمتة<sup>21</sup> وهو يقول لى<sup>22</sup> لا تلمونى  
انت\*<sup>23</sup> ولا يلمنى من\* يقره<sup>24</sup> فيها فعلته\* وصنعتة<sup>25</sup> لانى  
علمت<sup>25</sup> ما علمته<sup>26</sup> وفهنته<sup>27</sup> ورايتة<sup>28</sup> وانه يملك ولا بد\* من

واما انا بعد هذا جميعه اسال<sup>3</sup> لطفه DX<sup>2</sup> هذا X<sup>1</sup>  
والصغير D<sup>6</sup> الكبير D<sup>5</sup> المسلط ان DX<sup>4</sup>  
من D<sup>10</sup> سيكون للنصارى منهم\* 9 شا ان + X<sup>8</sup> يوهيكم  
D<sup>14</sup> اشركهم X<sup>13</sup> برحمة ربهم X<sup>12</sup>; D\* 12 X<sup>11</sup> النصارى  
ثم انه اوصف D\* 17 بحيرا D<sup>16</sup> الراهب + X<sup>15</sup> الذى  
فى D<sup>18</sup> وحدى ووصف لى هذا الصفة X; وحدثنى بهذا الصفه  
واسبابه X; وسائر اسبابه (بين) D<sup>20</sup> جميع + D<sup>19</sup> جميعه  
ويلومنى احدا من X\* 23 لا تلمنى D\* 22 نضمنه D<sup>21</sup>  
قد D<sup>25</sup> بما فعلته X; ولا من يسمعه لاجل ما فعلته D\* 24  
انه ملكا D\* 28 Ms. 171 ends here 27 قد علمت D<sup>26</sup> علمت  
لا بد

اقلمته وبلوغ غايته واستيفاء نهايته بما<sup>١</sup> قرأته وفهمته وسمعته  
وعاينته.<sup>٢</sup> وكتبت للمؤمنين غايته<sup>٣</sup> واخذت لهم منه عمدا<sup>٤</sup>  
(fol. 176a) وعهودا انسا<sup>٥</sup> بعنايته<sup>٦</sup> وطول ايام دولته فجازيته\*  
خيرا وشكرته ورأته عند العرب مكرما<sup>٧</sup> وجيها وعند قومها<sup>٨</sup>  
محببا<sup>٩</sup> مقبولا يحكم<sup>١٠</sup> بينهم ويصلح امورهم ويدبر شانهم<sup>١١</sup> وهم  
له شاكرون ذاكرون ولربنا الحمد والتسبح والوقار الان وكل  
ازان والى دهر الداهرين لو(?). والحمد لله دائما ابدا سرمدا.  
كملت خبر بحيرة الراهب مع الرجل الاعرابي بسلام من  
الرب لو لو لو.\*

غايته D ٣ ونظرته في الرويا بطور سينا D ٢ قد D ١  
٧ D طول ايام دولتهم فجزيته D ٦\* شى D ٥ عهدا D ٤  
وكانوا D ١١\* موقرا D ١٠ ? محبوبا D ٩ قومه D ٨ مكينا  
له من الساكرين لاسمه ابدانا كرين ولامره طايعين فلذلك  
اعتمدت عليه والاجبيعة يتسلم اليه وهو الحاكم العادل الذى  
له الشكر والمجد والسبحة من الملائكة الاطهار والكارويم والساووفيم  
الى ابد الابددين ودهر الداهرين امين. السج لله دائما. تم

(To be concluded.)

## A Christian Bahira legend.

By *Richard Gottheil*.<sup>1)</sup>

### Translation of the Arabic text.

(XIV, 252)<sup>1)</sup> In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, one God — we commence — with the help of God the exalted one, and of his excellent guidance, the account of Bahira the monk, the Arabian, which he himself told to Murhib the monk. Peace be from the Father! Amen!

He said: When I, Murhib the Sinner, had dwelt in the wilderness for a long (253) time, I saw at a distance<sup>2)</sup> a large dwelling-place. I went to it; and when I had come and had gone in, I found in it an old monk whose name was Bahira. When he saw me, he greeted me and was very glad with me. He said, praise be God who hath caused me to see thy face this day. These forty years I have not seen the face of a Christian except thee. Now I know and am certain that my life has come to an end (254) and that my death is at hand. God, praised be he!, hath brought thee hither to me that thou learn my whole

1) See Vol. XIII, p. 189 ff.; Vol. XIV, p. 203 ff.; Vol. XV, p. 56 ff.  
— The figures in parentheses refer to the pages of the Arabic text in Vols. XIV and XV.

2) The Ms. has clearly *من بعد*. Read *من بعيد* as in D.

story and relate it to the faithful, as also that which happened to me in this place.

I tell thee, O my brother!, that I am a sinful man of the people of Antiochia. I went once to the mountain Mt. Sinai, in order to obtain a blessing in the places of the holy ones, and that I might also receive the blessing which comes from the prayers of the monks living there. When I had come to them, I prayed in these holy places, and one of the old monks said to me: "O my brother!" (I answered him, "I am at thy service, O pious man!"), "God will show thee much evil when thou goest out from this place". I answered him, "Let the will of God, the Most High, be done". Then I carried out that which he wished me to do, and I went forth from that place. When I had come near to the mountain, I saw a great light, the like of which has not been seen, and many angels. And I saw a cross shedding light over the whole earth — seven times more than the sun —, and a great angel. I was much afraid at this. But the angel said to me, be not afraid. Then I saw four chief winds moving, one after the other. I saw a white lion coming from the interior of the wilderness. It consumed the east and the west, the wilderness and Syria, and it drank the waters of the sea. Then it settled in the west. On its head (255) were twelve horns. The angel said to me, "this is the kingdom of the Ishmaelites".<sup>1)</sup>

Then I saw a black she-wolf. It consumed the east and the west. It had three<sup>2)</sup> horns. The angel said to me, "this is the king of the sons of Hāshim, son of Muḥammad". And I saw very plainly a bull coming from the wilderness. It had five horns; and it consumed the four corners of the world. Then it went down to Mosul.

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1) PX "Hāshim Ismael".

2) All the Arabic Mss. have the number "three", while the Syriac have "seven".

I said to the angel, what is this? He answered, this is the king al-Mahdī ibn ‘Alī and Fāṭimah.<sup>1)</sup> Just as the bull is peaceful<sup>2)</sup> and a leader, so will his kingdom be peaceful and a leader. As the lion breaks all that comes in its way, so will he of the lion not leave before him any who oppose him. To this Mahdī the tribes of the Ishmaelites will be subservient. With him will end the kingdom of the Arabs.

I saw, further, a panther coming from the west. He came clothed in clothing of blood. I said to the angel, what is this? He said, this is the king of the Banū Sufyān, who will destroy the children of Ishmael with the sword.

I saw also a goat coming from the west. (256) It reached the Temple, I said to the angel, what is this? He answered, this is the king of the inhabitants of Ḳaṭar, who are the Banū Yuktān.

I saw also a lion arrive, coming from the wilderness in great might. It consumed everything and trod everything under foot. It left nothing in its path. I said to the angel, what is this? He answered, this is called the Mahdī ibn ‘Āyeshah. During his time and his days there will be great misfortune, the like of which shall not be [again] in the world.

I saw also a man clothed in green garments. I said to the angel, what is this? He answered, this is the last king of the Ishmaelites, in whom is their end.

I saw then a wagon, decked out with all that is beautiful. I said to the angel, what is this? He answered, this is the king of Rūm, who will rule over the whole earth until<sup>3)</sup> the end of [all] kingdoms.

1) PX omit "and Fāṭimah". Are we to see here a more Shiitic tendency, the belief in a less personal "Imām"?

2) I can not substantiate this translation of متضع.

3) DEPX have "at the end etc."

Then I saw a great serpent. It opened<sup>1)</sup> its mouth and swallowed all things without pity or mercy or favour. I said to the angel, what is this? He said to me, this is the Messiah, the liar — who is called the false Messiah. He will come at the end of time, and will destroy all who oppose him.

Then I saw Satan — may God enchain him! — raising himself towards heaven. He came like the lightning, full of hatred and anger. I saw a man coming from the east in beautiful (257) white garments. I said to the angel, who is this? He answered, this is Elijah the prophet, who will come at the end of time, before the true Messiah.

I saw, then, three angels clothed in fire and girdled with flame.<sup>2)</sup> I said to the angel, who are these? He answered, Gabriel, Michael and one of the Seraphim. The angels went away, and one of the Seraphim was left. He said to me, O man! fear hath made thee tremble; but I shall lead thee, and thou shalt be quiet<sup>3)</sup> and at rest.

He said to me, follow me, do not be afraid. I followed him and he took me to heaven. I was like unto one asleep — in the spirit, not in the body. I looked towards heaven and towards the heaven of heavens, and I saw a great light — [the greatness of which] can not be described. I heard the songs of the angels praising the Ancient of Days, with much praise and immeasurable pains. One can not comprehend or recount the words (258) of praise sung to the one and only Trinity — Father, Son and Holy Ghost — saying: 'Holy! Holy! Holy! is the Lord Zebaoth'. I saw the earth about to become empty and void, the heavens stretched out like a piece of paper.

1) Read with PX ففتح.

2) Reading باللهب, with D.

3) Evidently from طَمَّان, though the form is peculiar.



Then the earth was emptied and it became a desert. I saw the holy ones going into Paradise and the sinners going to eternal punishment.<sup>1)</sup> He then took me in spirit — not in the body — and I saw the apostles of Jesus our Lord in a high and lofty station. I am not able to describe it, nor can my tongue tell its excellencies. I saw John the Baptist — of high rank — more exalted than all the prophets. I saw collected beneath them the martyrs in their various places,<sup>2)</sup> David the prophet singing praises, and all the [other] prophets reading that which they had been accustomed to read on earth with rejoicing and gladness and much praising. I saw the tree of disobedience, the tree from which death was born.<sup>3)</sup> I saw the tree of repentance, which is the tree of life. I saw a valley, very large and very deep: in it there was an unquenchable fire, and a worm that never sleeps, and punishment that never ceases;<sup>4)</sup> and many people — more (259) numerous than the sand of the sea — crying out aloud, their teeth chattering<sup>5)</sup> like loud thunder, and making a noise like a strongly blowing wind, because of the greatness of the punishment. I was troubled and wept; and I said, What profiteth it a man if he gain the whole world, but lose his soul. All this I saw in the spirit, but not in the body.<sup>6)</sup>

After this, the angel who had me in charge said, Go to Maurice, king of Rūm, and break thy staff before him.

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1) P has **الجحيم**, one of the Qur'an expressions for "hell".

2) Revelations XX, 4.

3) Or, rather, "which is the tree of death". I have translated the reading of D.

4) I have taken **يهدى لامر** in the sense of **يهدى لامر**, and other similar expressions.

5) **تصرّ**?

6) The insistence upon the spiritual vision of these things is evidently a polemic against Mohammed's ride to heaven.

Say to him, 'Thus shall be broken thy kingdom by the sons of Ishmael'. Then go to Chosroes, king of Persia, and break half thy staff before him and say, 'Thus shall be broken thy kingdom by the wild asses of the desert'.<sup>1)</sup>

I went to Maurice, king of Rūm, and I did in his presence as the angel had commanded me. He was not angry with me. He only said, The will of God be on his creatures. Then I went to Chosroes, king of Persia, and I did in his presence as the angel had commanded me. He answered me and said, With what warrant sayest thou this? Where didst thou see this vision? I said, On Mt. Sinai, the place where Moses received the Thorah from God. And what didst thou see there, he asked. I answered, (260) I saw a wild ass come and seize a goat, and tread on it with its feet. Then I told him my story. When he had heard it, he sighed and said, Go in peace!

I went from before him and came to the land Aikār.<sup>2)</sup> I took up my preaching among [the people there], saying that they ought not to bow down to many crosses, but to one cross; and that in their churches they ought not to make the sign of many crosses, but of only one cross; that they<sup>3)</sup> should bow down to it, and that their hearts should be turned towards the cross of our master Jesus Christ, the redeemer of the world:— just as I had seen on Mt. Sinai only one cross set up in the whole world.

When the Episcopi of this region<sup>4)</sup> heard [this] from me, they drove me [from] their country, and I took up my habitation in this wilderness, near the children of Ishmael. I became friendly with them, and they with me; and we conversed with each other. I took up my abode

1) A reminiscence of Gen. XVI, 12?

2) Is this, perhaps, a corruption of the indigenous name of Armenia, *Haik* or *Ha'k* (LAGARDE, *Armenische Studien* No. 1226)? E has "Armenia".

3) Reading, with D, *مجرد*, etc. A has the second person.

4) E "of Armenia".

in this cell and dwelt therein. In it I fashioned<sup>1)</sup> a well of good sweet water. The Arabs became accustomed to come and draw water from it, to sit near me at all times. They were friendly to me, (261) and I to them. They carried out my wishes and I their's. Everything that I commanded and counselled them to do, they did without gainsaying me.

I began to say to them, you will have power over a great kingdom for seven weeks. You will pitch your tents in the whole of this desert and make it subservient to your power. You will have great might, very far-extended. I then commenced to tell them the story of their father Ishmael, and the promise of God to Abraham in regard to him; respecting the appearance of the kingdom and the power, and the multitude of descendants; the story of his mother Hagar; how an angel met her on the road three times and said to her, be not sad, a great nation will arise from your son, and in him thy power will grow very strong. He will possess a great kingdom.<sup>2)</sup> I told them that which I had read of the prophet Isaiah,<sup>3)</sup> who said, the length of the rule of the sons of Kēdār shall be the length of the year of a hireling;<sup>4)</sup> after which their glory shall depart. I told them what I had read of the saying of Bala'am, the children of Ishmael shall rule seven weeks, strong and unassailable.<sup>5)</sup> I told them what I had read of the saying of Daniel the prophet, verily, the tribes of Ishmael will come and station themselves in the holy

1) Really "lined". D has "I dug".

2) Genesis XXI, 18; XVII, 20. On the application of the prophecies to Hagar, see BROCKELMANN, ZAW XV, 139; Ibn Jauzi (ed. BROCKELMANN) in DELITZSCH and HAUPT's *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* III, 46, 13.

3) Written الشيا, as in Ibn Jauzi, BA III, 51.

4) Reading الاجير. A free rendering of Isaiah XXI, 16, 19, cfr. Ibn Jauzi, BA III, 51, 21.

5) Perhaps Numbers XXIV, 8 or XXIII, 24 — but in a very free rendering.

place. I told them of the saying of Methodius<sup>1)</sup> in regard (262) to the king of the Ishmaelites, in regard to their spreading over the earth, and their dominion in it — that no one will stand up before them, and that they will have a powerful rule, being mighty in war;<sup>2)</sup> that God would raise up a man from out of their midst, great of stature, and from whose loins many kings should arise and spread over the whole earth. His name shall be called Muḥammad and Yaḥmad(!).<sup>3)</sup> The mention of him shall be in all the corners of the earth.

One day, I was standing at the well, for the purpose of drawing water — three weeks of days after my having spoken with them. I saw them coming towards me. With them was a young man, well-spoken and clever, and having a good tongue, of princely hearing, intelligent, commanding the camel-drivers and leading them. In like manner the merchants did his bidding. I spake to myself, calling for aid(?) upon my Master, and looking at him (263) carefully; then I said, this must surely be the man who is to be at the head of the children of Ishmael, and king over them. He is marked out for ruling; for he is a young man naturally born to rule; he has honour and power. I said to him, O young man! what is thy name? He answered, Muḥammad. I said, thou art to have rule and majesty. Thou shalt have power; for thy name has already been mentioned.<sup>4)</sup> Tribes and families shall belong

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1) Methodius, Bishop of Tyre, died in the year 312.

2) Reading, with DX, الباس.

3) PX have "and his name shall be *محرماً سين*; the explanation of which is Aḥmad and Muḥammad"; D seems to read "Serjās (Sergius?) which means Aḥmad and Muḥammad". On the name Aḥmad, see ZDMG XII, 249; XLVI, 432; XXXII, 374; ZAW XV, 139. SPRENGER, *Leben Mohammeds* I, 155; GRIMME, *Muhammad* II, 96.

4) Cfr. the charge made against the Jews that Mohammed's name was formerly in the Bible, but had been expunged, GOLDZIEHER, ZDMG XXXII,

to thee. Thy name shall be mentioned in the ends of the earth, and thy story spoken of in the whole world. Everyone who mentions thy name and calls thee great, will [thereby] already have made an offering to God pure and true. I advised him to go back to his fellows; and, afterwards, to return to me alone, in order that I might teach him all that he wished<sup>1)</sup> to do.

The youth went away with the Arabs who accompanied him. They were sad at heart, and filled with jealousy towards him. After three days, he (264) returned to me. He was exalted and trembling because of that which I had told him. He sat down near to me and we conversed together. He asked me questions and listened wonderingly. Then he said to me, I ask your pardon; but I have heard a tale from the sheikhs, and I know not whether it is true or not. I answered, what story hast thou heard? He said, that tribes of the Arabs formerly ruled in Syria, and made the people tributary. They remained in their power for sixty years, until there rose up among them a man called Gideon the judge, who made war upon them and drove them away, triumphing over them, so that only a few of them made their escape and returned to this place.<sup>2)</sup> Nine brave Arabs made common cause with him and remained in Syria. They did not return to their country. Now, I fear that this time it will turn out in the same way, and I shall return, whilst my companions are not with me. I answered him, by my life, no! Thou

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344, 364. REJ XXX, I, 12. On the supposed mention of מַחְמֶר in the expression בְּמֵאֵר מֵאֵר, see STEINSCHNEIDER, *Polemische und Apologetische Literatur* 327, 391. NEUBAUER, JQR IX, 164. The French *Roman de Mahomet* (13<sup>th</sup> cent.) had a different tradition. It says of him

"Toute la loy de Ihesu Crist  
Savoit par letre et par ecrist".

See the ed. of REINAUD and MICHEL, Paris 1831, p. 2.

1) The **א** is a dittography of the last part of the preceeding word.

2) Judges VII, 6.

shalt not return wanting. Thou shalt be successful and shalt triumph and shalt rule for seven great(?)<sup>1)</sup> weeks. Thou shalt remove the people of thy house and all (265) thy countrymen from worshipping idols, and thou shalt bring them to the worship of God the only one.

"And what God dost thou serve?"

"God, the eternal, the maker of heaven and earth, and of that which is between them."

"And who is this one, that we know him and be known by him?"

"The eternal God, the living one, who dieth not; the one holy Trinity, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, one (266) God Zebaoth, the creator, who speaks with his word to every living thing, who brings to life by his spirit, three in person, one in essence."

"This is a great and a wise belief; but the understanding of my people will not be able to grasp it. I wish you would give me a résumé of [your] belief, and of the excellencies of your faith."

"The end of all worship is the word of God, the creator, the everlasting, one in essence with the Father and the Holy Spirit — the one to be praised, who has come down from heaven and has become flesh from the Holy Ghost and from Mary, the virgin: who has done miracles and has returned to heaven, and who will come again to judge the quick and the dead — to whose kingdom there is no end, no termination."

"Can I receive this word, and can the spirit come to me [too]?"

"And why should this not come to thee? Before thee, all the prophets received the tidings — in whom and in whose word there was no doubt. Their prophecy came true; their honour was great; their work was praised;

1) Reading, with PX, منبئة. "Great" in the sense of "prophetic" weeks, i. e. years.

their prophecy was proven by the completion of the work of the Messiah upon the earth. Thou shalt substantiate the coming (267) of the Messiah, his signs, his resurrection and his ascension — that thy word be received as true by the nations and the tribes, with the exception of the cursed Jews. For they deny [all] — saying that the Messiah has not yet come; for him who did come we have clearly crucified, killed and destroyed. In this they lie. It is part of their evil ways that they are inimical to every nation. Two of them do not meet a man without recounting his slaying."

After this, his anger towards the Jews waxed great; and he caused me to hate, detest and curse them. Then he said,

"I wish, O blessed monk! that thou relate to me(?) the whole of this story. Tell me all that thou wishest, and I shall do for thee whatever in the world thou wiltst and desirest."

I said, "I do not wish from thee any of the things of this world, neither food,<sup>1)</sup> nor watering-place, nor any other desirable thing — except only that thou assist the Christians at the time when thou and thy people are supreme in power. For they (Christians) are weak and scattered. They have been commanded to humble themselves and to bear misfortune. Among them are poor<sup>2)</sup> hermits who wander from place to place and do not desire this world, but hate its (268) goods and its pleasures, and have nought to do with them. But they flee to the wilderness<sup>3)</sup> and the desert, and live alone in the search after their creator. Do thou keep from them deceit, misfortune and wrong on the part of thy people. Do thou command that neither toll nor tax be taken from them; because they hate this world. They care neither for wo-

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1) Reading مأكَل      2) Reading فقراء      3) العجراي?

men, nor for children, nor for riches: they **do not** desire any such thing. I wish further that thou **command** that neither tyranny nor hardship come upon any of the Christians. If thou keep these things from them, I trust that God will lengthen thy reign and make thy power lasting."

(XV, 56) "Upon me be it to command my people not to levy toll upon a monk. They shall be honoured, their needs attended to so that they may look after their affairs. In regard to all other Christians, I shall give the command that no one shall be inimical to them or jealous of them in their religious practices.<sup>1)</sup> Their churches shall be kept in order, their leaders honoured. On the day of resurrection I shall be an enemy to anyone who practices tyranny towards them."<sup>2)</sup>

"May God increase thy portion and bless thee in that which he has granted thee. Thou hast already shown of what stock thou art."

"A difficulty still remains. How will my folks (57) — in my tribe and among my people — receive me as king, seeing that I am looked down upon and am poor among them?"

"Call upon prophecy first. It will open the door for thee. Thou wilt enter the dwelling; and when once within, thou wilt find the answer<sup>3)</sup>: That will be better for thee, more proper, and more becoming. For the prophets have prophesied a despised and a poor man,<sup>4)</sup> like David the prophet; than whom among his brothers there was none lower, nor more despised. Yet they received him,<sup>5)</sup> did not

1) رسوم?; cfr. رسوم الدين LANE 1085.

2) I have guessed somewhat at this translation.

3) I have translated as if the reading were الحَكْبَر, which seems to be warranted by P.X.

4) Isaiah LIII.

5) Reading وقُبِلَ. The same mistake (قبِل for قِيل) is found in the other Mss. as well.



deny or contest him. In like manner, none will deny or contradict thee, when thou sayest, 'I am the prophet of God [sent] to you'."

"But how will they believe me, seeing that I have no writing in my hand?"

"I shall teach thee every night, and thou wilt teach them [the same thing] during the day. Say to them, 'Gabriel has made it known to me. I shall teach you that which he has taught me'. I shall take it on myself to write for thee that which thou needest; and I shall tell thee [the answers to] all the questions which they may ask thee — philosophical and other. I shall teach thee by heart the answers to the questions, whether they be in regard to things appertaining to Scripture (58) or to philosophy."

"I wish you would commence and write for me something which I might repeat and learn."

Then I wrote for him, "In the name of the merciful and compassionate God".<sup>1)</sup> I mean by this the Trinity, the holy Unity; for God is the Father, the everlasting light. The merciful one is the Son who is merciful to mankind and who has bought them by his holy blood. The compassionate one is the Holy Spirit, whose compassion is over all, who dwells in every believer, teaching him that which brings him near unto the true faith.

I wrote for him a "decicive"<sup>2)</sup> Surah, well-arranged

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I wrote also,<sup>3)</sup> "I have caused it to come down in the night al-Ḳadr. What tells thee what is the night al-Ḳadr? The night al-Ḳadr is better than a thousand months. In it the angels and the spirit came down according to the command of their master. Everything is peace in it until the dawn will have arrived." I mean by this the great and holy night, in which the angels came down and an-

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1) The heading of the Suras.    2) Sura XLVII, 22?    3) Sura XCVII.

nounced to the shepherds the birth of our master the Redeemer in Bethlehem.

I wrote also,<sup>1)</sup> "The holy baptism with which the master was baptized at the hands of John the Baptist in the river Jordan."

I wrote also,<sup>2)</sup> "Mary, daughter of Yoyakim guarded her private parts, and we breathed therein (59) our spirit, and she verified the word of her Lord and was one of the witnesses".

I wrote,<sup>3)</sup> "O Jesus the Messiah, behold I shall make thee die and take thee up to me, and shall clear thee of the disbelief of those who disbelieve at the day of judgement". I mean by this His death and his going up to heaven and his baptizing in water all except such as deny him; and that he now has caused — for all those who followed him and believed in him, except such as denied him until the day of resurrection — the king of Rûm to appear against the king of Judah and to rule over them.

(60) I wrote,<sup>4)</sup> "When thou didst take me away to thyself, thou wert the watcher over them".

I wrote, in regard to the crucifixion,<sup>5)</sup> "In thy hands I confide my spirit", i. e., he has given over his human spirit and has become a watchguard over his churches and his disciples.

I wrote,<sup>6)</sup> "They did not kill him, (61) nor did they crucify him; it only appeared so to them", i. e. the Messiah did not die in his god-person; but he died in his man-person, when they wished to break his legs on the cross like the robbers. It seemed to them that he was dead on the night that they broke the bone. That Scripture might be fulfilled: 'A bone in him ye shall not break.'<sup>7)</sup>

1) Sura II, 132.      2) Sura LXVI, 12.

3) Sura III, 48.      4) Sura V, 117.

5)  $\psi$  XXI, 6; not in the  $\text{Kur'ân}$ .      6) ?

7) John XIX, 32—36; cfr. Exodus XII, 46.

I wrote,<sup>1)</sup> "And thou wilt find the nearest of them in love to thee, those who say, 'we are Christians'." That is, because there are amongst them priests and monks, and because they are not proud.

I wrote,<sup>1)</sup> "Verily thou wilt find that the strongest in enmity against those who believe are the Jews and the idolaters". Then I saw that he thought that those who practiced idolatry were the Christians. I had not stated the matter clearly; for I would not reveal the secret to him, because I feared the ignorance of his fellows. Afterwards I explained to him that the Kureish are the idolaters and the proud ones.

I wrote,<sup>2)</sup> "Behold, the idolaters are unclean and should not come near to this house of their fellow-tribesmen" — because<sup>3)</sup> the Kureish were accustomed to worship idols at the entrance of the house at Mecca, remaining always near to it, bowing down to idols. He understood then that the reference was to them. So he kept them<sup>4)</sup> and prohibited them [from going] there. I assured him that this was the meaning [of the passage].

I wrote,<sup>5)</sup> "When ye meet (62) the idolaters around the House (*ka'bah*), drive them away, and whip them. If they fight with you, fight with them".

I wrote,<sup>6)</sup> "If Raḥmān has a son, then I am the first of the worshippers; then, strengthen them(?), perhaps there are to him other [sons]" — I mean, the first of the deniers(?).

I wrote,<sup>5)</sup> "Know that the servants (worshippers) are not the deniers, and the deniers not the servants".

I wrote,<sup>7)</sup> "O ye unbelievers! I do not serve him whom

1) Sura V, 85.

2) Sura IX, 28.

3) Reading لَانِ.

4) Reading مِنْهُمْ.

5) ?

6) ?; the last part of the passage is not clear at all.

7) Sura CIX.

ye serve; nor do you serve him whom I serve. I have not served him whom you have served, nor have you served him whom I have served; to you, your faith; to me, mine."

I wrote,<sup>1)</sup> "When you swear allegiance, make a profession amongst yourselves", i. e. the profession of the Father and the Holy Ghost made by the Son at the river Jordan, in a voice heard by John the Baptist, together with all those who have the faith of two persons in one through the medium of a single substance — God the everlasting, one, living, intelligent.

I wrote,<sup>2)</sup> "The Jews say, 'God's hand is fettered'; their hand is fettered, and they are cursed because of that which they said", i. e. the Jews refer to the Messiah who is upon the cross; he freed others, but was unable to free himself, 'Now come down from the cross that we may see and believe'.<sup>3)</sup> (63) In doing so they intended to mock him and to show his powerlessness, that he was weak and had no might.

I wrote,<sup>4)</sup> "And if thou art in doubt of that which we have sent down to thee, ask those to whom the book has been given before thee". By this I mean the proof that the holy Gospel is truer than all other books, nor can any reproach touch it on the part of those who wish to throw discredit upon it, nor can change or alteration affect it.

I wrote,<sup>5)</sup> "And when Jesus the Messiah said to the Apostles, 'Who are my helpers for God?', the Apostles said, 'we are God's helpers'. A party of the children of Israel believed, and a party disbelieved. And we aided those who believed against their enemies, and they were on the morrow superior." I mean, when the Messiah said to his disciples, 'whom, say ye, am I?', they said, 'thou art the

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1) Sura II, 282?

2) Sura V, 69.

3) Luke XXIII, 39 *etc.*

4) Sura X, 94.

5) Sura LXI, 14.

Messiah, son of God, the living one'. Then he praised them and commended [them for] this, and called them "Helpers of God".<sup>1)</sup> Some of the children of Israel believed in him, some disbelieved. We aided those who believed against their enemies. Then, on the morrow, they were superior [i. e.] on the day of resurrection, among those who died. Certain (64) beings believed<sup>2)</sup> in him; he raised them up and made great their kingdom and power over those who denied him up to the day of resurrection.

Many other things I wrote for him, too numerous to mention, by which I sought to turn him to a belief in the truth and a recognition of the coming of the Messiah into the world, and the condemnation of the Jews in regard to that which they say of our Lord, the true Messiah.

He said to me, "How shall I commence to establish religion and law among them?"

I answered, "If thou give them laws and ordain prescriptions — will it not be easy for you to pave the way?"

"But my companions are Arabs, Bedouins, careless. They are not accustomed to fasting or prayers — nor to anything that causes them trouble and pain."

"Thou wilt have no success unless thou commence by accustoming them to fasting and prayer. Give them signs, until they learn and know that thou art a prophet sent to them; [tell them]<sup>3)</sup> that one shall not lord it over another, doing that which is not lawful. If thou doest not this, thou wilt have no kingdom; nothing will succeed for thee, nor will anything thou doest be permanent."

"What thinkest thou if I should ordain a fast for them

1) A novel interpretation of the word انصار!

2) Reading, with X, آمِن. This is also the reading of D.

3) The brackets can be removed, if we read وتنهى شريعة, which agrees somewhat with the reading of D.

and prayer, and they keep [them] not? How shall I do to prevent my (65) offending them?"

"Say to them, fast ye from the morning until the night; and eat from the beginning of the night until the morning, when you can make the distinction at dawn between a white and a black thread."

"If I should ordain prayer for them, and they do not observe it — for they are not accustomed to it — what, think you, shall I do?"

"Place them in rows back of thee, thou being in front of them. When the rows are many, do thou stand up as their Imām, praying with them. When thou bendest thy head, they will bend their head. When thou raisest it, they will raise their head. When thou bowest, they will bow. When thou risest up, they will rise up. They will learn this, and will accustom themselves to it. In this there is no tiring nor fatiguing. The fatigue will be [only] for him who is before them. Show them three Rak'as in every prayer, that they be not troubled and go away." I showed him everything in regard to the praying three times. I showed him how every prayer should be performed. I commenced with the three prayers [which one ought to pray], the first thing after rising — until the prayer at which one spreads out the hands and places them on the ears, a witness to the Trinity and the head (66) of the faith. Then I made every Rak'ah which goes with the prayers, he bending his head and raising it. Then he prostrated himself, sat down and bowed, and arose. Again I bore witness to the one Trinity at the end of his prayer; he turning his face to the right and saying '[Peace] to you and the love of God!' [Then he turned his face to the left and spake in the same manner; and in front of him also.]<sup>1)</sup> I explained to him<sup>2)</sup> the word of God, "thou

1) Added from DX.

2) Reading *al*.

art peace, from thee is peace, and to thee is peace" i. e. the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, one God. His word and his spirit are from him; the Son is born of him and returns to him. The Holy Spirit has come from him, and is joined to him.<sup>1)</sup>

Then I said, "Fasting and prayer are only permissible with cleansing and with washing in clear water".

"And how is this cleansing, and this washing in clear water? Teach me this!"

"The great cleansing is hidden; find it in the similar cleansing which is necessary in conjunction with every prayer."

"Tell me, how is this?"

"Place the vessel at thy right hand and anoint thy head with water, the tips of thy ears, and the fore-part of thy mouth. By this I mean a similitude of the Trinity. This cleansing pertains to (67) the washing. But this is not the full washing, as that which I have said before will already have shown thee."

"And what is this cleansing? Let me know it also."

"Washing thy face, hands, and feet. By this I mean a resemblance to the Trinity."<sup>2)</sup>

"How many prayers can I lay upon them for each day? They are a people not accustomed to prayer."

"Lay upon them the duty of seven prayers each day, as the Christians read with each prayer a long Psalm, with three hymns and offerings of incense. Then let them gather for worship with many prostrations and free prayers."

"They will not be able to do this. They will not follow me — nor will they receive from me anything like this."

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1) Reading منبثق منه ومعاً متفق.

2) The ordinary ablution preparatory to prayer, and secondly the washing of the whole body; LANE, *Manners and Customs* I, 97.

"Then make their prayers short — three ejaculations with the prostrations. Do thou neither increase them nor diminish them, [but do] just as I have told thee. Let there be seven prayers at seven [different] times which they may learn. Let the first be three hours before dawn, which we call al-saḥr. Do thou call it for them al-fajr. Let the second be at the first hour of the day, which we call 'the first (68) prayer'. Do thou call it for them al-subḥ. [Let the third be at the third hour of the day, which we call 'the third prayer'.]<sup>1)</sup> Do thou call it for them al-ḍaḥā. The fourth is at the sixth hour of the day. We call it the sixth. Do thou call it for them al-ṭuhr. The fifth shall be at the ninth hour of the day.<sup>1)</sup> We call it the ninth. Do thou call it for them al-'asr. The sixth, which is at the end of the day, is called among us, "the evening prayer". Do thou call it for them "the evening prayer". The seventh is after nightfall. We call it 'the prayer of sleep'. Do thou call it for them al-'ishā."

"To what place hast thou commanded them to turn their faces, they being gathered in the Temple, in which they pray to idols?"

"Cause them to pray facing the rising sun; because (69) from it comes all light and brightness, and every star takes its rise. Under it is the garden of Eden — Paradise — beneath which flow the rivers."

Then I said to him, "Command them to toll the bell,<sup>2)</sup> that every one may know the time of prayer, in order that they may come to thee in large numbers". He then came back to me and said that he had commanded them to bow down to the East and to pray to it; but that they had risen up against him saying, "we will not obey you in disregarding the Kiblah to which we and our fathers

1) Reading according to D.

2) On ناقوس, see JACOB, *Studien in arabischen Dichtern* III, 122.



before us have been accustomed, so as to pray to something else," and they have reproached me.

Say to them, "God has commanded me that you shall pray to the Temple at Mecca," and pray thou with them to it.

He came back and said to me, "How long shall I command them to fast; for they are not able to fast [a long time]".

"Command them one month, so that they become accustomed to it and know it."

"But they do not know what a month is — neither when (70) it begins nor when it ends. For they are Bedouins; they are not accustomed to this, and they do not keep count."

"Say to them, 'fast until the New Moon appears'. Commence at its appearance, so that they have no necessity to count or to number." I taught him many things, and made him comprehend how to count. I desired [only] that which should lead him to the proper faith, to the certain truth. I attested to him all that had happened in regard to our Master, our Lord Jesus and his coming; that he is the word of God and his spirit. As part of this attestation, I wrote for him,<sup>1)</sup> O Miriam, behold, God gives thee good tidings with his word. His name is the Messiah. I proved to him in the Bible his coming to this world, his becoming flesh from Mary the virgin; that she remained a virgin after having given birth — in order that this should be a witness to the Christians of his coming to this earth, and of his having done signs and wonders in regard to his rising from the dead (71) and his ascent to heaven. (For, in regard to this, he had prophecies from the prophets, and clear proof from the messages, and testimonies from the whole world); and the confusion of the Jews by his coming to the earth, and [the reputation of]

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1) Sura III, 40.

their contention that he is not the Messiah. I knew that this youth would come to power; that there would be to him a rule unsurpassed [by any other], great prowess, much strength, and a name known unto the ends of the earth; in accordance with that which I had seen in regard to him in visions upon Mt. Sinai, and what I had read in the Torah; what Methodius had told me, and what I had read in other books — that there would be to him great kingship and mighty rule, and that the sons of Ishmael should be widely known upon the earth; and that not one of the kings who should oppose them should be able to stand before them, until their rule be finished, their time ended and their prowess turn [from them]. I certified to him the coming of the true Messiah in his god-form and man-form, the oneness of his name, the acknowledgement of him by the Christians in his continued greatness; and that the one who should come after him is the false Messiah who misleads everyone that follows him: in order that he might be a witness for us, and his book after him; agiving the lie to the Jews. I wished also to tell him the hidden secret, (72) which the Lord had not disclosed. But his understanding could not encompass this; there remaining in his head the belief of Arius, the cursed one, the heretic, the denier, who said: I believe that the Messiah is the word of God and the son of God, but divided, unequal<sup>1)</sup> and isolated. He had forgotten the words of the prophets, full of proof, clear and intelligible, the evident testimonies and certain signs. Then the youth came back to me saying, "If they ask me in regard to Paradise — what shall I answer them?"

"Say to them,") "He has prepared for you a garden, under which flow rivers, in which you shall live for ever. In it are fruits not cut off. In it are birds of whatever kind you wish, and a multitude of other good things."

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1) Reading لا خِصًا.

2) A mixture of Suras 56, 61 etc.?

"But if they ask me in regard to these rivers which flow from Paradise, what shall I say to them?"

"Say to them,<sup>1)</sup> the four rivers which flow from the garden are:— a river of water, a river of wine, a river of honey, and a river of milk, delicious to those that drink". I mean that the four rivers which flow from the garden and water the world are a sign, (73) proof, and revelation of the Messiah, as was predicted of him in Scripture, that he would send forth from his belly rivers to water the world, i. e. the four Gospels, which have watered the whole world, and have brought it into the right path. For I see that people desire only the wish of their hearts and their own ease. For this reason I promise them that which they love, i. e. that they shall eat in it (the garden), drink and have a pleasant time.

"But, if they ask me, are there in Paradise any women whom we may enjoy, what shall I answer them?"

"Say to them,<sup>2)</sup> in it are bright and beautiful Houris, with whom the men may play every day — virgins, like unto moons, whom neither man nor jinn hath touched. Their height and breadth are so and so much(?)." (He was not ashamed to mention these and similar things.) I gave him a clear account of the garden — its food and its drinks, its pleasures, its joys, its Houris, its vegetation, its castles, its walls, its horses, its clothing and vestments, its drinks and its vines.

"Thou hast well taught and instructed me and advised me to first teach them the law, showing clearly to them the ordinances. I have taught them that which thou hast related to me. But they did not understand. Do thou now make an extract for them — such as their understanding is able to comprehend. With it thou wilt quiet their souls. This will be for them a steadfast law, to which they can accustom themselves. It will not be un-

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1) Sura XLVII, 16.

2) Sura LVI, 22.

intelligible to them. For, it will not need (74) any examination, nor [be subject to] any controversy. Thus they will not become disobedient and return to the service of idols, to which they are accustomed."

"If thy people are accustomed to them and look upon them as gods, say to them, recite it in an abbreviated form; for the true faith consists in their saying "*lā ilāha illa-llāhu*". Do you become Moslems. For, verily, God has said to me, 'I wish Islam to be your religion'." By this I mean the Islam of the Messiah; that they may have a name together with the first name with which I called them, [and which] may last for them until the end of their rule.

Then I said to him, "Forbidden to you are celibacy, and blood, and the flesh of swine. Let them have a festival every week — which shall be for them a well-known ordinance. When Friday comes, command them to collect at thy bidding in the Mosque, from every place. Do thou pray with them and advise them not to fight with one another, but that they assist each other and rejoice<sup>1)</sup> [with each other] (75) as the Christians do in their churches on the first day. Let them glorify it, because it is a glorious day, the day of the saving of the world; the day on which Adam was created at the time of mid-day prayers.<sup>2)</sup> Let their prayers, therefore, be on Friday at mid-day."

"Thou didst tell me that the prayers of the Christians are long — but my people can not support such lengths."

•Then order for them three Rak'as with each prayer, as the Christians pray upon entering the church; for each one prays for himself, before he takes his place back of the Imām. Therefore, do thou come to the assembly, and let thy people pray standing back of thee. If any of thy

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1) The sense is not clear; D has "cry out and rejoice".

2) A Jewish tradition.

people pray for himself, let him neither add to nor diminish the prayers said in the assembly."

After a while he came back to me burdened with care and said, "My people have answered me, we wish thou wouldst make it clear and certain to us that thou art a prophet, and that what thou sayest is true; in order that we may believe that thou art sent to us with a prophecy, so as to lead us away from the service of our Gods".

"Say to them, God has sent me a book from heaven, in which he has promised me that on the seventh day he will bring me messages which can not (76) [now?] be mentioned, which will instruct me as Noah was instructed in the ship, together with unspeakable messages in regard to the removal of the water from off the face of the earth. In like manner he will give you direction in regard to the removal of error from your hearts, and the impressing of the faith in your breasts by tales and stories and narratives. They shall be witnessed to by prophecies and divine messages."

I wrote,<sup>1)</sup> "Muḥammad is the prophet of God. He hath sent him with guidance and the religion of truth, to make it prevail over every other religion, averse although idolaters may be."

I wrote,<sup>2)</sup> "Muḥammad is but an Apostle; Apostles have passed away before his time". Also,<sup>3)</sup> "Verily, God and his angels pray for the prophet. O, ye who believe, pray for him and salute him with a salutation". Also,<sup>4)</sup> "We have omitted nothing in the book". Many other important things I wrote for him and taught him. But I know it will be changed, added to and diminished many times. For, after him will come people who will be our enemies, acting shamefully towards us and the like.

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1) Sura IX, 33.    2) Sura II, 138.    3) Sura XXXIII, 56.    4) Sura VI, 38.

Everyone will think that good which is pleasing to him. After him, they will change the greater part of that which I have written for him. A people allied to him will arise, will make war upon the king and the dynasty, and will kill many of its people. (77) Dissensions and enmity will enter among them after his death. There shall be fear and trembling because of the Bedouins, until the end of their dynasty and the turn<sup>1)</sup> of their rule. There shall not cease from among them enmity and hatred and ugly talk. Men will see the killing of their brethren in the neighbourhood of the Sanctuary and will not turn aside, except it be with the sword [in hand].

Then he came to me saying, "I have done that which thou didst bid me do, and didst show me. They are willing to listen to thy promises."

I answered, "I have already written for you a book full of wisdom. In it is everything thou needest — similitudes,<sup>2)</sup> stories, tales of the true prophets, narratives of the righteous martyrs, beautiful exhortations, clear proofs, by means of which prophecy and the Apostolic function are verified for you: that which He has commanded who has sent you with prophecy, guidance and the true religion. Nothing<sup>3)</sup> is omitted in the book."

I wrote, "Verily, we have given you al-Kauthar.<sup>4)</sup> So pray to thy Lord and slaughter victims. Verily, he who hates thee shall be childless." By this I mean the assertion of the Trinity of persons, the proclamation of the divine Unity, the slaughtering of the clean Pascal lamb, without blemish.

I wrote,<sup>5)</sup> "I have created man and jinn only (78) that they should serve me". By this I mean the Unity — God, the Creator, the Living, the Intelligent.

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1) Reading **فَنَاء** with DX.      2) Reading **امثال (?) مثائل**.

3) Reading **انه** for **وله**, as DX.      4) Sura CVIII, 1.      5) Sura LI, 56.

I wrote,<sup>1)</sup> "And do not wrangle with the people of the Book, except for what is better". By this I mean, that they should not discourse with the people of the Gospel except in kindly discourse, nor trouble [them] with what is not true; but they should speak the truth.

I wrote,<sup>2)</sup> "You wish to extinguish the light of God". By this I mean that He is the light, everlasting, all-knowing, the Creator.

I wrote,<sup>3)</sup> "O Mary, verily God has chosen thee, and has purified thee above the women of the world". By this I mean the affirmation of the praise which is to be given to the pure one, the Virgin, the Mother of light.

Then he came to me saying, "A number of men and of tribes have risen up against me. They are rough and violent, untutored and of great prowess. They have acted disgustingly to me; have lorded it over me, have given themselves airs, disdaining intercourse with me, and treating me with derision. They would not receive [the message] from me, saying that there are among the Arabs men of greater account than myself. But [in reality] I am nobler than they are, both as regards paternal and maternal descent. I can do nothing with them, and have no power over them; because they are rough by nature, leagued one with the other. I can not bear their mischief, their evil-doing and their opposition."

I answered him, "Do not be sad: (79) I shall make thee able to cope with this affair". I then wrote in the book,<sup>4)</sup> "O ye folk! Verily, we have created you races and tribes, that ye may know each other. Verily, the most honourable among you in the sight of God is the most pious."

I wrote also,<sup>5)</sup> "The Arabs say, 'We believe'; Then say, 'Ye do not believe, for the faith has not entered into

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1) Sura XXIX, 45.    2) ?    3) Sura III, 37.    4) Sura XLIX, 13.  
5) Sura XLIX, 14.

your heart'. Say, 'We have become Muslims'." By this I meant, that the true faith is the faith in the Messiah; and Islam is the Islam of his pupil . . . .')

All these similitudes I wrote for him, and removed from him the obsession<sup>2)</sup> [which was on him] and the trouble [which he feared to have] in this matter.

Then he said to me, "When wilt thou send to me the book?"

I answered, "I am not able to send it with a man; lest he should not take proper care of it. I have already explained to thee before this that it will be sent to thee by a messenger who can not speak. I shall place the book in the right horn of a cow. I shall let her walk amongst the herd. And when she will come to you, do you all sit together [waiting] for the affair, that you may attend to it. When she will be coming in the herd, and when thou seest her from a distance, coming amongst them, do thou jump up on thy feet; approach her with fear and trembling — they in the mean-time will be watching thee — and take the book from upon her horn. Put it upon thy eyes, (80) and rub thy face with it in front of them. Say to them,<sup>3)</sup> "Praise be to God who hath sent me the right direction, that we walk in the proper way. Praise be to God who hath led us, for we were not among those who were led aright." Behold! I have written in the very first part of the book,<sup>4)</sup> "That which is in heaven and upon the earth praise Allah, the king, the holy, the mighty, the wise. He it is who hath sent me yesterday a prophet amongst themselves to recite to them his signs and to teach them the book and the wisdom, although they were before in obvious error." Now, when thou wilt have gotten the book, say to them, "This is the mighty

1) The text has "his pupil the Messiah", which is quite evidently a mistake.

2) *I. e.* المرونة, as in D.

3) Sura VII, 41? 4) Sura LXII, 1.



book which Allah has sent down from heaven. And since there was no one of sufficient merit to receive or bring it, this cow bore it, perfect, clean, and without fault, as his word had promised me in truth, I shall send it thee by a messenger who can not speak." Then the youth did as I had commanded him, and called this book *Furkân*,<sup>1)</sup> because it was made up of parts which were collected from many books.

Then<sup>2)</sup> Bahira took up the word and said, There will come many frightful things and many (81) afflictions. Much blood will be spilt in different countries; for Allah will turn his face away from the whole earth in the year 1050 of the Alexandrine Aera. The Arabs will then kill their king, and there will be great slaughter among them for one week. Then will come to an end the rule of those twelve kings, of whom Allah said to Abraham, "Twelve princes shall go forth from thy loins". Then will come into power the mighty Banū Hāshim; and God will punish all men and beasts and wild animals. They will devastate the earth and possess themselves of it; of the trees, of the waters and of all that move therein. After this, the Banū Hāshim will become illustrious. The hair of their heads will increase like that of women. Not even this will be sufficient; but in their days there shall be hunger and death and pouring out of much blood. In these times men shall be a pray for the birds of heaven and the wild beasts of the earth. Their yoke will become more powerful than it was beforehand for the space of seven halves [of weeks]. Men will have to sell all they possess because of the tax [laid upon them]. And when

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1) It will hardly do, with GRIMME, *Mohammed* II, 73, to connect this term with the Hebrew *Pēreḡ*. It is evidently the Aramaic *furkân*, so common especially in the New Testament. It has even passed over into the Armenian, HÜBSCHMANN, ZDMG XLVI, 252. Cfr. also GEIGER, *Was hat Mohammed, etc.* p. 56; NÖLDEKE, *Geschichte des Qorāns* 25.

2) It is evident that something new commences here.

all their possessions will be spent, they will sell their sons and their daughters in order to pay the head-tax. (82) Then they will flee from country to country on account of great injustice [done them] and because of the tax. When all their hope will be cut off, and their fleeing avail them nought, when nothing is left for them, — then will they return to Him: At that time, all those who have no faith, deep and strong, in our Lord Jesus Christ, the Messiah, and do not know the end and the result, and the recompense which Allah will mete out to the just, as he says in the holy Gospel,<sup>1)</sup> 'those who look forward to the mighty things, the hunger and the thirst, their righteousness shall increase; but those who are the contrary of this, for them is no hope, when [these things] come upon them' — such ones will deny the Messiah, and will not remember that which he has done for them. For, behold, he has bought them by his blood, and has made them free by giving up his own self. Nor do they remember the recompense which will come to them afterwards, when they will have waited for the torments which are to come (83) upon them.

But those who have a strong faith and a beautiful belief and a perfect hope in our Lord Jesus Christ — He will satisfy their hope in him: he will bless them, their houses, their sons and their daughters, their dwelling place, their cities and their lands. He will free them from the service of the Arabs, and the oppression of the sons of Hāshim. At the same time the sons of Hāshim will increase rejoicing upon rejoicing, greatness upon greatness, power upon power. They will devastate the great countries, in which the former kings ruled. They will become mighty, possessed of Babylon, holding it in iron. The land of Babylon will [then] be full of people of every nationality, taken from the four corners of the globe. At

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1) ?

this time the wisdom of the wise will be brought to nought, and fools will be exalted. The wise man will be despised, and the man of understanding foolish, the temperate man (84) an idiot. Truth will be falsehood, and falsehood truth. At such a time all this will seem proper, because they have made for themselves laws and statutes which are unintelligible, so that right and its demands are [looked upon as] folly, mercy departs from mankind to such a degree that fathers have no pity upon their children,<sup>1)</sup> and children none upon their fathers. One brother declares the other a liar and casts dirt upon his relatives; the trees sprout not, the earth does not give forth its product; the wide places and the hills do not cause their seed to grow; the rains will not come in due time; summer will come in winter, and winter in summer. At that time there will not be a year, in which the thunder of God does not bring down upon the earth either cold or frost, heat, grasshoppers, pest, killing, or destruction. Signs will appear in the heavens: (85) they will become obscured. Dust will come down from the sky, and the stars will not shine. Then will the Arabs become as numerous as the stars of heaven, and as the sand of the sea. Mosques will be built at the very doors of churches, in the market-places, in the very midst of the land, among graves and caves, near dwelling-places and houses. And when they (the Arabs) will hear the voice of the Muezzin, they will all go in haste to pray in the Mosque, which will be so full of them that they stand in rows at the entrance to the Mosque. When they do this, know that the end of their rule is come, and their return from Syria to the land of their fathers is at hand. Hāshim will beget seven kings — one called by two names, two called by one, two [whose names] are in the Thorah, one with six letters and one with seven letters to his name.<sup>2)</sup>

1) Sura LXXX; *cfr.* Mark XIII, 13; Luke XII, 53.

2) D reads "One shall be called Yāsmīn, two Yāsim; two shall be

Now, when all this will have happened, know that the end of the reign of the Banū Hāshim is at hand. One will awaken the other, as one is awakened from sleep. Everyone will say of his own self, to me belongs the rule. Then will God cause them to destroy each other (86) in anger; thereby causing their destruction and annihilation. One will call out "pfui!" to the other.

After this, their power will be taken away, and given to al-Mahdī, son of 'Alī, son of Fāṭimah, who will come to them from the West, from the mountain Nānus.<sup>1)</sup> He will requite them according to their deeds, will cast down cities, their palm-trees and their fortresses, so that they become a dwelling-place for the birds of heaven. Then will come to pass for them the word of David the prophet, "Woe to thee, O Babylon, Woe to thee, O Shin'ar, and city of the Chaldaeans".

In the days of Mahdī ibn Fāṭimah there shall be release and peace, the like of which has never been seen in the world. He will carry out the will of Muḥammad his father, and of his descendants [who came?] after him. There will be, from the time of the first Muḥammad until the last Muḥammad — in whose reign their rule shall cease — twenty-four kings of the sons of Muḥammad.

After this there shall come from the West [a man] of the sons of Sufyān,<sup>2)</sup> clothed in clothings of blood. He will drive the sons of Ishma'el to the mountain Athrab.<sup>3)</sup>

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in the law; one with six letters; and the last, his name shall be with seven".

1) D: Tābūs; X: Bānūs. I can make nothing out of this name. *Bā-nās* is the name of a river near Damascus (*Yāqūt* I, 482). *Nānas* occurs as the name of a city of the Urtāyē in Southern Armenia. LAND, *Anecdota Syriaca* II, 192, 1. Cfr. also NÖLDEKE, ZDMG XXXIII, 163; JENSEN in this *Zeitschrift* VI, 67.

2) The reading of X. A has سفتان, D سيفان.

3) The Syriac versions have *Jathrib*, i. e. يثرب, Ptolemy etc. *Ia-θουτρα*, Sabaeen יִתְרָב (HALÉVY, *Mélanges de critique et d'histoire*, 90).

They will kill (87) men and women, old and young — without pity. Then will come from the West those who are yellow . . . .'). They will enter the promised land and reach up to Syria. There they will be destroyed by the lion, i. e. al-Mahdī son of 'Āisha.<sup>2)</sup> His anger and his wrath will be directed against the sons of Ishma'el and the Christians. He will destroy churches and monasteries and pull down altars. There will be such a tumult in the world, the like of which has never been seen. Those who die of hunger will be more numerous than those who die by the sword. Many of those who belong to the church will go astray from the truth, will betake themselves to the Satans and will sacrifice to them. In those days, men will say to the mountains, 'fall upon us!', and to the hills, 'cover us up!'. But he who continues to hope until the end will remain alive.<sup>3)</sup>

When all this will have come to pass, know that the destruction of the world is at hand. Then one will come from the East, like unto the sun, the greatest of all kings, clad in garments of green.<sup>4)</sup> There will be (88) peace in the world, the like of which never was before. Contracts will be observed; the truth will appear. A king of the sons of Ishma'el will arise, will destroy the Roman power, and will possess himself of the world for a week and a half-week. Then the winds will be driven forth, and king-

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According to *Yāqūt* (I, 117) Athrib is one of the old names of al-Madīnah; *cfr.* SPRENGER, *Leben Muhammeds* II, 1. There was a division of Egypt called *Athrib* (*Yāqūt* I, 111); but that is out of the question.

1) I do not understand the word in the Ms. Evidently there is some reference here to the Europaeans or the Franks (Crusaders?). See the literature mentioned in Dozy, *Supplément* s. v. **أصفر**.

2) *I. e.*, a Mahdī of the family of Mohammed; but not, necessarily, of the direct descendants of 'Alī and Faṭimah.

3) Matthew XXIV, 13.

4) The colour of the descendants of the Prophet; WEIL, *Geschichte der Chalifen* II, 216.

doms will arise, one after the other. The Turks will come forth — they who are like unto the beasts. They will fight among themselves. The gates of the West(?)<sup>1)</sup> will open and Gog and Magog will come forth, they who are like unto the dogs. They will kill all flesh that is upon the earth. Then will come forth the king of destruction, having the likeness of a serpent. He will swallow up everything in one hour, and not show mercy. Then will God collect them into one place, and will send against them the angel of his wrath who will kill them in one hour. There will be great joy unto the righteous, which will never come to an end, and unto the sinners punishment and gnashing of teeth until the end of time.

(89) Now I, Murhib the monk, remained in the cell with Baḥīra for a long time. He told me the whole of this story. I understood well all that he told me: for this I vouch. He explained to me all its particulars, the reasons and arguments which he gave me in person. Then he added, "Do not blame me, nor permit those who hear it to blame me, for that which I have done and occasioned".

Says al-Murhib, After that the spirit of prophecy with which he had prophesied had left him, Baḥīra sighed and wept over the sins which he had committed in disobedience to God. I also wept on his account and said, "God will have mercy upon his servants who believe in his resurrection". He turned to me saying, "O brother Murhib! I know that I have brought a grievous sin upon myself by reason of what I have done — especially, for that which this book contains. I know that it will, some day, fall into the hands of some of the Christians. (90) They will blame me for what I have done to them: for I know that I have strengthened the power of the enemy over them, [which will remain] until the end of his rule and [until] its completion, [until] that which will finally

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1) Reading الغرب, with D? But one expects "the East"!

come over them at the end of that time — to change which is not in their power. But even before I had seen the vision which I had on Mt. Sinai, I had already searched the rest of the books of the prophecy (91) of the prophets and the Torah, and that which the wise men had told in all their wisdom by means of the conjunction of the stars in their courses(?),<sup>1)</sup> and the decisions [arrived at] thereby, and that which points to the rule of the sons of Ishma'el, who are the very worst of men, and to the power given to them by God over his servants. After this, I saw the vision which I have explained to you in this my book. I was commanded to do what I have done — of which I have made mention — in regard to the different kingdoms, the secret of which I have put down in this book without any fear. Now do thou write down the end of my evil deeds. In regard to that which I have written in the book which I have composed, there is witness to it both in prophecy and in divine message; as well as in regard to that which I have stated in it regarding God and our Master and Lord, the Messiah; and what I have announced in it regarding God, and in regard to our Master and Lord, the Messiah, and my opinion that this prophecy should be in the name of the unified Trinity — Father, Son and Holy Ghost. But he was not able to mention this; because both he and I were forced to keep silence in regard to God.

For I wished to get confirmation for the rule of the sons of Ishma'el, in order that the promise of God to Abraham might be fulfilled in regard to Ishma'el. I never occupied myself with anything else to the same degree: but I tried to establish the truth of prophecy in regard to him. I composed a book about him. I made out (92) that he was a receiver of inspirations, only that might be fulfilled the word of our Lord, the Messiah, [as it is written]

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1) Is this a derivative of انثر?

in the holy Gospels, "False prophets will surely come to you after I am gone. Woe unto him that follows them".<sup>1)</sup> And the greater part of this book I have filled with the mention of the god-character and human character [of Jesus] and the pure mother of light, and the wonderful things which He did with the children of Israel. I certified to the curse which rests upon the children of Israel. To this I joined [an account of] the Christians. But after a few days he came and said that not one of his fellows was able to repeat any of the things regarding religion which I had explained to him; that they cared solely<sup>2)</sup> for the worship of their idols. In order that might be fulfilled the word of our Lord, the Messiah, [as is written] in the Gospels, "No one of those who come to me shall be able to do anything, except such as are chosen of the Father who is in heaven".

I wrote also,<sup>3)</sup> "Say, he is one God, the everlasting God, who begets not and is not begotten. Nor is there like unto him anyone". I said to him, "Tell them that this verse has been revealed to me because my sin (93) towards God was in likening him to the one they had been accustomed to serve. I had pictured him as eternal, separate; neither hearing nor seeing, like to a stone: all this with the annihilation of my hope(?).

I wrote,<sup>4)</sup> "O Jesus, son of Mary, is it thou who didst say to man, take me and my mother for two Gods, in addition to God. He said, Praised be thou! what ails thee that I should say what I have no right to? If I had said it, thou wouldst have known it. Thou knowest what is in the soul; but I know not what is in thy soul. Verily! thou art one who knowest the unseen." Then I put down [that] the return to it (former belief) was blame-

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1) Matthew XXIV, 11.

2) Adding  $\bar{y}$ , as in D.

3) Sura CXII. 4) Sura V, 116.



worthy; and much more like this, from the beginning unto the end. He then brought up the subject of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost; and I told him all that I had in mind.

I wrote,<sup>1)</sup> "Those who believe what is sent down to thee, and whatever of truth has been sent down before thee, verily! the most of them have no knowledge". By this I meant the pure and holy Gospel; that it is the truth; that who (94) adduces anything against it speaks with a human voice, is a doubter, and a sinner unto his own self. He will [at some future time] ask God for forgiveness of the sins which he has committed. Then I said to him, "God is the merciful forgiver".

Whereupon he turned to me saying, "O man! Everyone commits sins, hoping afterwards to receive mercy from his Father. But I have committed a sin,<sup>2)</sup> for which there is no forgiveness. I commenced with a great and horrible affair. I was possessed of an extreme love of my own person. I looked out only for that which could be of advantage to my own self — vile and devilish as it was. O Murhib! seest thou not, how I loved nothing beyond my own person; how I left my dwelling-place and came to this desert, forbidding and waste, and how I have sown in it for me evil seed which remains for me to all time, which calls to mind the sower and the false oats he has sown. In thus sowing, I have brought myself into a fire, the flame of which ceases not to burn. I have come out from the fire like one that is lost. I am judged because of the sin which (95) I have committed towards my master and my God, by what I have said in regard to him and which he had not commanded me by prophecy during the days of that man who claimed [to have received] prophecy and message. This came through my saying of him, "the gate which I have opened for him is

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1) ?    2) Read **أخطيت**.

the most difficult of all gates [to pass through]. I made out the false to be true, and sought to prove that right which was wrong, and by imputing to the Messiah that which was not proper — biting wolves, vipers, and wild beasts, destroying [everything]. Over tribes which were living in safety, I brought tribes which made them despicable. I pictured them as lowering their heads under the rule of other nations. I compelled them to pay a tax until the end of their life. I made existence hard for them. Yet after all that I have just related to thee, the Christians did not stray from God and his Messiah, whom he had sent for the redemption of the world and its end. Happy are those of his servants who hold out all the time of the rule of this people in the last year.

Then I, Murhib, said to him, "Wait for the mercy of God, who has shown thee his signs (96) in the heavens, and by his visions, has signalled thee out of many of his creatures. He it is who receives the repentance of those who return to him — though even [this occur] only a short time before a man's death." His soul was pacified at these words, and he said, "I shall now write what remains".

Bahira, the monk, continued, After this he came to me, weeping and said, 'O Monk! Thou art the man who has done all this to me'. I said, 'What is the matter?' He answered, 'My friends and relatives tell me that every prophet has come doing wonders, as regards the reviving of the dead, causing strange things to appear, and the like. But thou comest with nothing of all this. We will not receive any prophecy from thee unless thou give us such an assurance'. To this I answered, 'I shall satisfy thee in regard to this, so help me Allah! Then I wrote for him, "Nought hinders us from sending the signs, save that<sup>1)</sup> those of you said they were lies: so we gave

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1) Read **إلا أن**; Sura XVII, 61 and XCI, 14.

Thamūd the visible she-camel; but they wounded it: so God the Lord gave them over to destruction". (97) I calmed him with these words because a camel had been sent to the Thamūd from an unknown place. In addition to this, [I told him] words composed by the Holy Spirit, treating of other people who had raised up the dead, as Ezekiel. This passage(?) was displeasing to him.

After this, he came and said, "My people are debauchees and love marriage". I answered, "In the book are allowed them five, six — up to ten; and of what they have become possessed, as far as their means permit." I said this because he had acquired possession of a maiden; and wished by this verse, to show his wives that it had been sent down from heaven in order that they should ease their minds in regard to him in this affair; for God had permitted the Nikāḥ to him; and this passage was . . . . in this book.

I taught him, further, that he had been carried up to heaven; and I told him what I had seen, when the angels took me up to heaven. I related everything to him, without omitting to teach him a single thing. I made him say to them, "I rode (98) upon the lightnings to the Temple". Behold! they asked him to pardon their sins. It was difficult for him to answer them in regard to this and other things. I quickly went over with him the story of Gabriel, and [told him] of the strength of the lightning in the night, in which he took to flight. But when he told this story to his friends, they gave him the lie, saying: "We do not wish you to give us any more stories about heaven. Tell us something about the Temple, and what is in it." He answered, "Give me time to ask my Master". This they did; and he came to me in sadness saying, "I have taught them [everything]; but they have not received a word of what I have told them. They now ask me for an account of the Temple." Then I gave him a complete description of the Temple and added, "Say to them,

I have asked my master and he has promised me to send it upon the wings of Gabriel in order that I may describe it to you, piece by piece." He did as I had commanded him. Then I wrote for him,') "Praised be He who took his servant a journey by night from the sacred Mosque to the remote Mosque, the precinct of which we have blessed". I wrote for him, "He hovered until he was two bows' length off or nigher still".

I so arranged it (99) that everyone of his people who should come after him should not understand and should not comprehend this passage: because [in reality] he neither went up nor did he come down; nor did he prophecy, nor was he sent. But [I did this] at the behest of my master, the great, the forgiving one, the merciful one. [Thus] the will of God was carried out through me — and his design in regard to his servants.

After a few days, he came to me saying, "I passed by the house of one of my friends, Zaid. I passed him by and came to his wife. I looked at her and conceived a great affection for her. I wish thee to help me in this matter, because thou hast been ready for me with all manner of reasons. There is nothing which thou canst not accomplish for me: thou hast already made me a great leader and a dignity among my fellows and among the other Arabs." I answered, "I shall write for thee a verse which they shall not be able to mistake. Say thou to them, 'Gabriel has brought this verse down'." I wrote,") "Now when Zaid will have finished his affair with her, we did wed thee to her, O Muḥammad". I did for him many other things like this: all of them had nothing in common with prophecy, and this was displeasing to his followers. I composed and wrote for him that God would be merciful to him. In addition to this, I gave him still further assistance. In the greater part of that which I

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1) Sura XVII, 1.      2) Sura XXXIII, 36.

wrote for him, one part contradicted the other; one (100) verse abrogated another. I wrote a book for him, the like of which is not to be found in the books of the prophets: for in these books nothing like it is to be found. For with every other religious book, the author himself brought it; but of this one I wrote the verses, and their names: <sup>1)</sup>ص ع ي ه ك and another <sup>2)</sup>آلم “this is the book, there is, no doubt, therein a guide to the pious”. By this I meant only the pure Gospel, and those who possess it are the pious ones. It refers to God the first, the Son and the Holy Ghost.

I added:— “the explanation of this book is known only to the living God and to the very wise, I made it so, in order that everyone who comes after him will find in it that of which he is in search. It is a work, for which I have not provided an explanation like [other] books. I intended that everyone who come after him should explain it to the best of his ability; so that I gave no explanation other than that found in the book itself. I knew well that in it were things, about which later generations would differ; that they would make changes, add to it and take away from it, and write in it that which is pleasing to themselves, as I have said at the beginning (101) of this my book. In it I have also disclosed the subject of the [future?] judgements, and the favour shown by God to us, the Christians, and how he has been kind to us.

And now I beg of God, who has desired in his power to show his wisdom and the distinction [in the various forms] of his service, that he redeem all of us, great and small, by his redemption, and release us from the evil [done by] this people. For I know that enmity will come

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1) The meaning of these letters is as uncertain as ever; see NÖLDEKE and HIRSCHFELD, *loc. cit.*; also NÖLDEKE, *Orientalische Skizzen* 50; GRIMME *Mohammed* II, 11, note 2.

2) Sura II, 1.

to us from them; and that the master having power will descend from them. They are without mercy. The evil they will do to us will be greater than the evil done by those who have gone before them.

Now I, Murhib the sinner, remained in the cell with Baḥīra the monk for a long time, during which time he repeated to me the whole of this story to its end. I saw, witnessed, and had proof of all the circumstances. I wrote it all down in his presence, and arranged it according to his word; the while he said to me, "Do not blame me, nor let anyone who reads the account blame me for it. I have composed it because of the certain knowledge which I had. For behold he (Arabs?) will rule, and it will be necessary to (102) bear with him; to wait for the end and take its consequences — as I have learned and understood them. I have written the whole of it for the believers; and for them I have taken the full cognizance of things to the very end: to the point where the dominion of the Arabs ceases. I did them a good turn and deserve much thanks from the Arabs — judging between them, prospering their affairs and leading them. Remembering all this, they were thankful to me.

Now, to our Master be all praise, glory and honour, now and for all time, to the end of things. Praise be to God for ever and ever.

Finished is the story of Baḥīra the Monk and Arab. Peace from God! Amen!

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